Resurrection Beyond the Secular
Pursuing a theological paradigm of international development

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Resurrection Beyond the Secular:
Pursuing a theological paradigm of international development

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ABSTRACT

At a time of increasing interest in the role of faith within international development, this thesis provides a normative study of the various theologies that influence the staff, supporters and sponsoring churches of a particular faith-based international development organisation: Christian Aid. The thesis focuses on how implicit, explicit and null theologies influenced the organisation's recent efforts to develop a deeper understanding of and relationship with its faith basis. It uses empirical methods of enquiry to reach its conclusions. It references thinking that spans the fields of theology and development, giving particular attention to the works of Rowan Williams and Amartya Sen. The dialogues with Williams and Sen reflect upon and explore the claims of faith and development when brought into relationship with one another.

Empirical research methods are used to respond to the key research question: *Should theology drive the international development work of Christian Aid and, if so, how?* The thesis also addresses secondary research questions that explore the role of theology in Christian Aid's work and the organisation's position within current discourses on faith and development.

This is the first time Christian Aid's UK-based operations have been examined empirically using practical theology to expose the tensions at the heart of the organisation's faith basis. The thesis builds upon previous studies that examine Christian Aid's operations using different methodologies and from different perspectives. It is written at a time when academics and practitioners alike are calling for more qualitative research into the unique perspective faith offers on development. By examining the theologies underpinning the work of Christian Aid, this thesis responds to such calls and proposes a future path through which theology and development can become more fully reconciled within both the discourse and praxis of the organisation.

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INTRODUCTION

1. THE CONTEXT

Many of the most widely recognised international development organisations in the world today were born out of religious conviction. More particularly, many of these organisations were brought to life by faith communities who wanted to live out their belief that inequality and injustice violate the inherent "dignity and freedom of the human subject."[1] Through a variety of justifications and expressions, all major religious traditions share this belief.[2]

However, during the latter half of the 20th century and the early part of the 21st, a jarring disconnection between faith and secular development discourse has emerged. Modernisation theory has been influential within secular development discourse, as has Enlightenment thinking, which promotes reason over belief.[3] These currents of thought have carried the discipline of development further and further from the sphere of influence of religious and faith communities, and contextualised the discourse within a humanistic framework.[4] Observers have noted that even within some Christian faith-based organisations, development practitioners have been inclined to emphasise the instrumental capacity of the church to reach vulnerable people, and perpetuate the perception that "church leaders and theology [are] barriers to their priorities of effective and efficient initiatives to improve [the lives] of poor people."[5]

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[1] Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion'. A speech delivered on 12 November 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012, 4.

[2] Duncan Green, *From Poverty to Power: How active citizens and effective states can change the world.* Oxfam International, Oxford, 2008, 37. Saul D. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals.* Vintage Books, New York, 1989, 56.

[3] The Enlightenment has been defined by Fiona Bowie as "a movement in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century European philosophy concerned with the role of reason and the progress of human civilization. Enlightenment philosophers were prepared to reject tradition and to question existing sources of authority." (Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion: An introduction.* Blackwell, Malden US and Oxford UK, 2006, 3.) A prominent source of existing authority which was questioned was the church.

[4] "Development discourse and policy in the second half of the twentieth century was largely secular and technocratic in character. It emphasized the rational at the expense of the spiritual and organized religions were often seen as a significant source of opposition to government and donor policies in critical areas such as HIV/AIDS, gender relations and human rights." (Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, "Introduction." *Development, Civil Society and Faith-based Organizations.* Gerard Clarke, Michael Jennings and T. Shaw (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 4.)

[5] Dean Pallant, *Keeping Faith in Faith-Based Organisations: A practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry.* Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 6.

Modernisation theory has played a dominant role in the way development has matured as a discourse and a discipline since the immediate post-colonial era. Particularly prevalent has been the belief, articulated by social theorists such as Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, that the role of faith will diminish as societies modernise.[6] But over the past two decades questions have been raised repeatedly as to whether modernisation theory is, in fact, credible. Anthony Giddens used the term "the resurgence of religion"[7] in 1991 to suggest that there was a need to question the perceived demise of faith as a social force. In the years since, the modernist development paradigm has shifted, with theologians, churches, faith-based organisations, governments, institutional donors, and development theorists and practitioners coming to acknowledge that the disassociation between faith and development must be addressed. The idea of development as a good in its own right has been questioned; faith has been recognised as an essential motivator for many of those associated with international development work; and faith is now acknowledged as a lens through which poverty is understood by many poor communities.[8] This shift has opened up new paths of enquiry into the intersection of faith and development within academic discourse.

The scholarly debate surrounding faith, development and theologies of development has forged these fresh avenues of enquiry by drawing upon a variety of fields, including (but not limited to) theology, the sociology of religion, development studies, international relations and social policy. Entire studies have been undertaken to demonstrate that religion is "the forgotten factor"[9] in development literature. A number of development theorists have responded to these criticisms, acknowledged the importance of faith, and moved to address its omission. Duncan Green, Head of Research at Oxfam GB, published *From Poverty to Power* in 2008, a 500-page volume outlining Oxfam's vision of "reducing poverty and combating injustice."[10] In it, Green devotes just three pages to the role of religion in development. His statement that "perhaps the most powerful force in

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[6] Scott M. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The struggle for the soul of the twenty-first century.* Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2005, 26.
[7] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity.* Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991, 195.
[8] Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, "Introduction." *Development, Civil Society and Faith-based Organisations.* Gerard Clarke, Michael Jennings and T. Shaw (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 17.
[9] Leah Selinger, 'The Forgotten Factor: The uneasy relationship between religion and development.' *Social Compass,* 51, 2004, 523.
[10] Oxfam International, Duncan Green profile: http://www.oxfam.org/en/fp2p/duncan-green-profile. Viewed 9 October 2011.

shaping attitudes and beliefs is religion"[11] is undermined by the scant attention he otherwise gives to examing the role of religion in development. Three years later, however, Green devoted an entry on his *From Poverty to Power* blog to 'Religion and Development: What are the links? Why should we care?' He highlighted the need to "increase 'religious literacy' in the development sector, even in secular development organisations like Oxfam."[12] This change in Green's thinking between 2008 and 2011 is indicative of the broader shift in development discourse, as secular development practitioners enter a debate in which thinkers from the sociology of religion and theology are already well represented. Many of these secular thinkers will be referenced in the literature review in Chapter One, but the greatest emphasis will be placed upon the works of Amartya Sen. His theories have been accorded a key role within Christian Aid's theology of international development, making him the secular thinker of greatest relevance to this study.

From a faith perspective, Severine Deneulin and Sabina Alkire have both argued that religion should form a central role in development thinking, while lamenting the lack of attention given to the important role religion has played. As Alkire pointed out in 2006: "Thus far, religious influence on development has not been a primary topic of any international report on world development."[13] Similarly, Gerard Clarke argues that: "Academics and policymakers perceived poverty as a matter of material deprivation and its elimination a technical undertaking; they systematically ignored the role of faith as an analytical lens through which the poor experienced and rationalized poverty and through which the well-off empathized with their struggles and provided practical support."[14] One particular academic voice, which has consistently and cogently analysed the role of faith in development from a theological perspective, is that of Rowan Williams. His publications and speeches address such relevant topics as faith in a secular

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[11] Duncan Green, *From Poverty to Power: How active citizens and effective states can change the world.* Oxfam International, Oxford, 2008, 36.
[12] Duncan Green, 'From Poverty to Power: A conversational blog written and edited by Duncan Green.' www.oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/. Viewed 3 November 2011.
[13] Sabina Alkire, 'Religion and Development.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies.* David Alexander Clarke (ed.), Cheltenham UK, Northampton MA, USA, 2006, 507. In a similar vein, Severine Deneulin (with Masooda Bano) has stated that: "While the literature on religion and development is burgeoning fast, there has been no attempt yet to offer an analytical grid for understanding the role of religion in development, to conceptualise it, and to provide a framework for the growing partnerships that are observed between development donors and religious communities." (Severine Deneulin with Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the secular script.* Zed Books, London and New York, 2009, 2.)
[14] Gerard Clarke, "Faith-based Organisations and International Development: An overview." *Development, Civil Society and Faith-based Organisations.* Gerard Clarke, Michael Jennings and T. Shaw (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 17.

society,[15] the relational aspects of Christian theology,[16] the place of theology within development,[17] and even Christian Aid's particular role in bringing to life a vision of the world based upon the love and respect God offers to humanity.[18] Rowan Williams' works lend themselves to creative reflection on the claims of faith and development when brought into relationship with one another. This study will also reference other Christian teachings on development, in particular reflections on justice from Catholic Social Teaching (CST). The Catholic Church is not one of Christian Aid's sponsoring churches, but CST provides points of reference and dialogue on the role of faith in shaping development from which useful learning can be drawn.

By locating the influences upon Christian Aid within the wider academic discourse on faith-based development in Chapter One, this thesis will construct an understanding of Christian Aid's organisational identity and motivations. This will then contextualise the presentation of the ethnographic data and the construction of the renewed theology of development which follow.

2. THE CASE STUDY

This thesis will deploy practical theology to examine one particular faith-based international development organisation: Christian Aid. As one of the largest such organisations in the UK, with more than 700 staff worldwide and an annual turnover of approximately £100 million, Christian Aid walks a fine line between faith identity and the need to remain credible within the secular sphere of development. It is the intention of this project to explore the tensions and debates surrounding faith-based development as a whole through the deployment of Christian Aid as a case study. No such case study exists in isolation from either wider theoretical discourse, or the praxis of other, similar, organisations. Rather, such a focus upon a particular case study can prove to be instructive in understanding the wider field in which it is situated. In particular, Christian Aid's adherence to faith and secular identities at different points in the organisation's recent history make this a case study from which rich learning can be extrapolated

[15] Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square.* Bloomsbury, London, 2012.
[16] Rowan Williams, *Where God Happens; Discovering Christ in one another.* New Seeds, Boston, 2007.
[17] Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion' A speech delivered on 12 November 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012.
[18] Christian Aid media release, 'Archbishop Rowan Williams Challenges Myths Over Aid.' www.christianaid.org.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/june-2012. 19 June 2012. Viewed 2 April 2012.

and applied to a variety of comparable organisations and contexts. Previous studies focusing on Christian Aid's theology of development have done so using different methodologies at different points in the organisation's evolution.[19] This extended case study is designed to build upon the findings of these earlier pieces of research.

Early in the 21st century, Christian Aid adopted the dominant secular discourse of development to the point that, when attending my staff induction in early 2009, I was told that the disassociation of Churches Together in Britain and Ireland from Christian Aid was "the best thing that has happened to us as an organisation."[20] At that time, Christian Aid's core target audience of supporters in the UK was the general public, rather than churchgoers. Many churchgoing supporters felt marginalised, and staff who were responsible for communicating with and resourcing them raised serious concerns about this approach. Between 2009 and 2011 an organisational volte-face brought the focus back to church supporters and the role of the churches in Christian Aid. It was a tacit acknowledgement that the failures of the secular approach outweighed the successes. Theology has therefore come to assume a more central role in Christian Aid's development agenda in recent years, and it is the role of theology within the organisation's discourse and praxis into which this thesis will enquire.

In examining the role theology plays in Christian Aid's daily life and work, some parameters have been placed upon the scope of this project. Interviewees were predominantly UK-based and, although five members of staff working internationally contributed valuable data to the research, no international partners or members of communities that have benefitted from Christian Aid development programmes were interviewed. It was decided that to do these individuals and groups justice, a second thesis would be necessary. The thesis is, therefore, not designed to be a comparative study between Christian Aid's UK operations and those of international partners, but to draw upon the theological voices at work within Christian Aid's UK operations, which influence the organisation's work across the world.

[19] See particularly Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Political Theology: Development or liberation?* SCM Press, London, 2007; and Peter Scott, *Christian Aid's Theology of Development: A critique in conversation with Karl Barth and Oliver O'Donovan.* MA Dissertation, King's College London, 2010.
[20] A statement made in response to a question posed at the 'Global Welcome' for new staff, May 2009.

To discover and shape the role of theology in driving the development work of Christian Aid, the thesis will employ research methodology designed to increase the understanding of both faith in practice and theological literacy. It will use practical theology to examine the role of the explicit, implicit and null theologies[21] within Christian Aid, deploying critical ethnography (in the form of interviews and participant observation) to gather data that will be used to develop a rich and complex response to the research questions. Both practical theology and critical ethnography seek to understand the *why,* not just the *how,* of the situation being examined. Such an approach will be invaluable in realising the normative goal of this thesis. The specific methodological approach to examining the case study will be outlined in greater detail in the next chapter.

3. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis will focus upon responding to the central research question:

1. *Should theology drive the international development work of Christian Aid and, if so, how?*

This question clearly frames the core enquiry of the thesis as normative, indicating that this research project not only seeks to describe a situation and the theology within it, but also to critique and, where possible, draw from research findings a new path for the discourse and praxis of the theology of development at Christian Aid. There is by no means a consensus within Christian Aid as to whether theology should be the driving force behind the organisation's development work, making the question of what role theology should assume, and how, a particularly intriguing one to investigate. The term 'drive' is used here intentionally, to refer to the organisation's energy and inspiration. Should this energy and inspiration have a theological underpinning? If so, how should such theological energy manifest itself? Energy and inspiration are of particular importance in a context in which the theology being examined is a theology both drawing upon and informing the everyday practice of international development. The theology of Christian Aid, either in its current guise or in the projected form outlined in Chapter Three, must be lived out if it is to perform its function. So practical theology is the ideal methodological device to carry out this enquiry. This is not a research project concerned with abstractions and concepts, but the lived experience of a theology

[21] Don C. Richter, "Roots and Wings: Practising Theology with Youth." *Agenda for Youth Ministry.* Dean Borgman and Christine Cook (eds.), SPCK, London, 1998, 133. Richter acknowledges that these three categories were derived from E. Eisner, *The Educational Imagination.* Macmillan, 1979.

that has the potential to affect the lives of millions of people living in poverty the world over.

Although all three chapters of the thesis will address the central research question, it is Chapter Three which will do so most explicitly. It aims to form a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid. By drawing upon both the ethnographic data presented and analysed in Chapter Two, and the critique of Christian Aid's current theological positioning in the same chapter, Chapter Three will suggest key ways in which theology should be present within the organisation's future discourse and praxis. In so doing, the thesis will offer a new way in which existing theological lacunae, identified through the ethnographic research process, could be filled. Chapter Three's response to the central research question has been formed through careful attention to what is both said and unsaid in the ethnographic data. Until the data-analysis stage, no cohesive response to the central research question had been formulated. Therefore Chapter Three represents a truly data-led response to the question this thesis set out to answer.

The secondary research questions are designed to contribute richness and complexity to the overall response offered to the core enquiry. They address the particularity of the theologies at work within Christian Aid, and position the organisation within current academic discourse. Chapter Two offers a response to Research Question 2:

2. *How are the various theological voices (implicit, explicit and null) at work within Christian Aid expressed and understood, and how do they exert influence over staff, supporters and sponsoring churches?*

As in the case of Research Question 1, the thesis in its entirety will provide a full response to this secondary research question. More specifically, however, Chapter Two will present and analyse the ethnographic data gathered in the course of this research. It will examine in some detail how each theological voice (implicit, explicit and null) is manifest within the daily life, talk and work of Christian Aid, and how each voice influences the people who work with and for the organisation. It should be noted that the data upon which the response to Research Question 2 is based was gathered using interviews and participant observation sessions held between July 2012 and November 2013. It therefore paints a picture of a particular organisation at a particular moment in its evolution.

Finally, the specific details of Christian Aid's current theological positioning (outlined in Chapter Two), and the organisation's possible future theological path (proposed in Chapter Three), are put into context by current and historical academic discourse on development from both faith and secular perspectives. This contextualisation takes place in Chapter One, in response to Research Question 3:

3. *What are the points of consensus and contention between secular and faith discourses of development and how do they each influence the other?*

Chapter One addresses the long-standing tensions between faith and secular discourses of development, but this relationship cannot be characterised as a straightforward dichotomy. The intertwined history between the two branches of development is a complex one. Mutual respect has flourished in particular contexts, and very few development agencies could claim to be either rigidly secular or strictly faith-based. Elements of each discourse influence different organisations at different points in their history and in different ways.

By framing the three chapters around the three research questions in this way, layers of detail and complexity will be built as the thesis progresses. In responding to Research Question 3, Chapter One will provide context, historical analysis, and a review of the relevant literature. In responding to Research Question 2, Chapter Two will delve deeply into the ethnographic data gathered in the fieldwork stage of the project. It will uncover and analyse the ways in which theology is currently manifest within Christian Aid's discourse and praxis. This analysis will draw upon material presented in Chapter One to demonstrate the ways in which Christian Aid has been influenced by broader development discourse, both faith-based and secular. Finally, the response to Research Question 1 provided in Chapter Three will draw together the strands of discourse (examined in Chapter One) and praxis (examined in Chapter Two) to discuss how Christian Aid's daily work and operations could be enriched and extended through consideration of a renewed theology of development.

4. THE PROJECT STRUCTURE

This thesis is built around three chapters, each responding to a particular research question, creating a clear narrative structure which moves from context, to current situation, to the construction of a renewed theological framework for Christian Aid.

As a result, however, each chapter deals with significant amounts of data and analysis. To prevent the reader becoming overwhelmed, there are clear sections within all three chapters, each structured as an argument in itself. The journey of the researcher reflected this structure, beginning as it did with a broad literature review and historical analysis in 2011-12. Data was gathered from the summer of 2012 until the autumn of 2013, with analysis conducted concurrently and final conclusions being drawn from the data during the winter of 2013-14. The thesis concludes with normative proposals constructed in the spring and summer of 2014. The reader therefore follows the same trajectory as that of the researcher, from broad contextual analysis, to a gradually narrowing focus on how this context has affected Christian Aid, to a specific set of conclusions. These conclusions outline how the current theological positioning of Christian Aid can be transformed in a fuller response to the implicit, explicit and null theological voices at work within the organisation.

This project's structure and timing also reflects the unique nature of the research itself. Although Christian Aid's theology has been examined empirically using ethnographic methods in the past,[22] this thesis was undertaken at a very particular moment, beginning at the start of the organisation's shift back towards a faith orientation. In contrast, previous research was undertaken during Christian Aid's secular period, and reflects the prevailing culture of the organisation at that time. Many of the interviews and observations undertaken as part of this project reflect aspects of the dichotomy between faith and secular development examined in Chapter One. The renewed theology of development outlined in Chapter Three could provide a significant new step for an organisation currently caught between two ways of thinking about, and doing, development. The years 2011–14 proved crucial for Christian Aid's identity as a faith-based development agency. The structure of this project both reflects the trajectory traced by the organisation during this period, and seeks to provide future researchers with a full and complex picture of the period during which Christian Aid began to rediscover its faith identity and theological energy.

[22] Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Political Theology: Development or liberation?* SCM Press, London, 2007.

5. CONCLUSION

The divisions that were constructed between faith and secular development in the latter half of the twentieth century can no longer be conceptualised as dichotomous, no matter how complex the dichotomy. The relationship between faith and secular development in both discourse and praxis is an intricate one. The contested nature of Christian Aid's identity and theological positioning is an excellent example of the complexity that characterises the connections between faith and development. This study grapples with this complexity to build a fuller understanding of the interactions between these discourses. In engaging with such complexity, this thesis will examine:

- the history that lies behind Christian Aid's dual identity
- the discourses that influenced this identity
- the state of the organisation's theological reflection and how it affects practice
- where a renewed theological path could lead if the implicit theological thinking and lacunae identified within the organisation's discourse were to be taken seriously and drawn into dialogue with Christian Aid's explicit theological voice.

Full understanding and mutual respect may not be achievable between faith and secular voices within the contested and highly subjective sphere of development, but it is possible to understand their interacting and competing influences by examining the experience of one particular faith-based development organisation. A fully understood and lived theology of international development has not yet emerged out of the contested space inhabited by Christian Aid, but this study aims to create new possibilities for the construction of just such a theology. By deploying practical theology to examine neglected theological dialogue, and drawing this together with a more intentionally scriptural understanding of Christian Aid's work, a renewed theology is outlined through which a Christian organisational identity can be lived out in the praxis of international development.

METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

As laid out in the Introduction to the thesis, this research project seeks to explore and shape the role of theology in driving the work of a particular faith-based international development organisation, Christian Aid. The research method used is designed to uncover and respond to faith and practice, and faith *in* practice. This thesis will be concerned with uncovering the 'implicit' and 'null' theologies at work within Christian Aid, the former being those theologies which do not find expression in the official discourse of the organisation, and yet guide the work of staff and supporters; and the latter being those theologies which are not spoken about or only obliquely acknowledged and thereby form theological 'silences.' The implicit and null theologies of Christian Aid will be compared with Christian Aid's 'explicit' theology – this last being the official theological discourse of the organisation, found in its publications. These three theologies will be examined using a combination of practical theology and critical ethnography, two methods which will, together, contribute to realising the normative objective of this study. Both approaches are committed to moving beyond the *how* to the *why*,[23] seeking "not simply to understand the world but to change it".[24] In using the combination of the two approaches, the study will stand in critical, as well as explanatory and interpretive, relationship to the subject matter.[25]

2. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Practical theology is a contested area, subject to a variety of interpretations, which therefore requires explication of the particular understanding under which it will be deployed in this study. It has been chosen as the methodological basis for this project due to its focus on the ways in which practice and theological reflection can be mutually enriching, each influencing the other in dialectic relationship. This study will hold theological reflection ("the discipline that enables us to understand who God is from God's self-disclosure"[26]) in relationship with critical ethnography

[23] Thomas John Hastings, *Practical Theology and the One Body of Christ: Towards a missional-ecumenical model.* William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Michigan US and Cambridge UK, 2007, 13.
[24] John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research.* SCM Press, London, 2006, 27.
[25] Andrew Sayer, *Method in Social Science.* Routledge, London and New York, 1992, 41.
[26] Thomas John Hastings, *Practical Theology and the One Body of Christ: Towards a missional-ecumenical model.* William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Michigan US and Cambridge UK, 2007, 1.

("the discipline that will help us understand human action"[27]) to enable a rich exploration of the theological ideas, tensions and practices at work within Christian Aid, and how these influence the development work of the organisation. It is intended that this dialogue will not only be mutually enriching, but mutually transformative. A number of scholars of practical theology[28] identify transformation as the most beneficial element of the discipline, asserting that practical theological research should result in action that is more deeply informed by the gospel.[29] A common criticism of ethnographic research methods is that they "lack… impact on policy-making and practice" and provide "limited payoff in the everyday worlds of politics and work."[30] By using *critical* ethnography in relationship with practical theology, this study seeks to reach a normative goal of not simply describing the situation being studied, but asking and suggesting how it could be changed. According to Jim Thomas: "Conventional ethnography describes what is; critical ethnography asks what could be."[31] The 'payoff' sought is a change in Christian Aid's theological practice.

Dean Pallant's stated aim in his extended study of Salvation Army health ministry is to introduce revised forms of practice. Transformation, as well as exploration and reflection, is a key element of the practical theological task he set himself. In the final chapter of his book, Pallant states that in light of considerations raised in his practical theology of its health ministry, the Salvation Army has "recently decided to prioritise health interventions with 'relational' dimensions. In other words, medical conditions that benefit from long-term relationships as against those which generally require short-term, high technology interventions."[32] This is an explicit shift to acknowledge the role of faith and the resources it can bring to the practice of healthcare. Others, however, have not placed the transformative outcomes which practical theology makes possible at the centre of their work. James Hopewell, in his year-long study of two congregations in the US, asserted

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010; John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research.* SCM Press, London, 2006; John Reader *Reconstructing Practical Theology: The impact of globalization.* Ashgate, Aldershot, 2008.
[29] John Reader, *Reconstructing Practical Theology: The impact of globalization.* Ashgate, Aldershot, 2008, 7.
[30] Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in practice.* Routledge, London and New York, 1995, 20.
[31] Jim Thomas, 1993, quoted in Michael H. Agar, *The Professional Stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography.* Academic Press, San Diego, 1996, 27.
[32] Dean Pallant, *Keeping Faith in Faith-based Organisations: A practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry.* Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 227.

that: "Parish life, in these two local churches as much as my own, was a rich and multilayered transaction that seldom got the description it deserved."[33] Description, both of what he observed and how he went about analysing the data gathered, is Hopewell's main objective. He uses a strong narrative analysis to delve into the issues and ideas he found at play in the two churches in 'Corinth', and claims that if, "through greater sensitivity to its stories a local church better discerns its constitution and mission, the effort of narrative analysis will have a significant result."[34] Helpful as this approach is to the amateur practical theologian searching for guidance on how to embark upon a narrative analysis, one questions whether Hopewell's 'sensitivity to stories' created the same kind of explicit change in practice brought about by Pallant.

This study will work to address the dissonance between Christian Aid's implicit, explicit and null theologies. It will seek to provide a renewed theological path through which each voice is brought to bear upon the organisation's development work. Used in conjunction with critical ethnography, practical theology will enable exploration of the transcendent within a very human context, uncovering how scripture and praxis work together and relate to one another through international development. From the critical exploration of this relationship, recommendations for a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid will be proposed.

3. MUTUAL CRITICAL CORRELATION

Through a process of reflection informed by mutual critical correlation, the practices revealed through participant observation, the opinions and ideas gathered in interviews, and the beliefs underpinning each of these will be brought together with a broad textual analysis to form the basis of this study. Mutual critical correlation is a method of theological reflection common to practical theology. It "seeks to bring together an interpretation of the religious experience and the contemporary situation in a way that enables both to engage in critical and potentially transformative dialogue."[35] There are different interpretations of this process and its focus, but foundational to all is the concept of a dialectic drawing insight from both Christian tradition and the social sciences.[36] For this reason,

[33] James F. Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and structures.* Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1987, 5.
[34] Ibid, 193.
[35] John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research.* SCM Press, London, 2006, 74.
[36] Ibid, 77.

Stephen Pattison uses the term "mutual critical *conversation*"[37] to emphasise the dialogic possibilities of the transformation taking place. He explains that conversation "is a living thing which evolves and changes… The participants in a conversation are changed, both by what they learn and by the process of conversing with other participants."[38] Pattison has been criticised for his emphasis on social science, giving it an equal voice in the conversation with theology. Swinton and Mowat acknowledge that the idea of mutual critical *conversation* is helpful in many ways, but question whether social science, as a system of knowledge created by humans, can really challenge theology, as a system of knowledge that claims to be given by God.[39] Pattison justifies making theology and social science equal partners in conversation by stating that: "Without extensive use of the insights and methods of the social sciences it is difficult to see how Practical Theology could really do its work."[40] The challenge posed by Swinton and Mowat presumes that making theology and social science equal partners is intended to impose meaning, rather than to listen and to learn, as Pattison suggests should be the case. Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins have, in their work *Talking About God in Practice,* responded to these differences in approach by questioning the basis of relationship into which theology and social science are called in practical theology. "When we employ other disciplines, on what basis are we 'trusting' them – rationality, compliance with the assumptions of secular culture, a sense of theology as 'one discipline among others', or a theology of grace and fall which opens up a discerning and constructive (if critical) interdisciplinary conversation?"[41] In keeping with Rowan Williams' exploration of grace as "creativity… exercised in terms of compassionate acceptance, the refusal of condemnation, the assurance of an abiding relationship of healing love,"[42] it is possible to see this conversation not as a threat to a system of knowledge that claims to be given by God, but a dialogue which creatively discerns insights from and within this system of knowledge.[43]

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[37] Stephen Pattison, as interpreted in John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, ibid, 81.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid, 83.
[40] Ibid, 269.
[41] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 31.
[42] Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology.* Blackwell, Oxford, 2000, 141.
[43] Helen Cameron and Catherine Duce have shed further light upon this debate by drawing upon the works of two practical theologians, Elaine Graham and Duncan Forrester, to reach the conclusion that Christian tradition has a significant role to play in plural society, but "cannot expect to dominate the discussion." (Helen Cameron and Catherine Duce, *Researching Practice in Ministry and Mission: A Companion.* SCM Press, London, 2013, xxviii-xxix.)

This study seeks to develop a renewed theology of development through a process of discernment of implicit and null theologies – using social scientific methods – with theological reflection that challenges the existing explicit theology of Christian Aid. In this context, an understanding of Pattison's method of mutual critical correlation as mutually transformative *conversation* is helpful. Michael Agar has pointed out that the ethnographic process of gathering data is "dialectic, not linear,"[44] and this dialectic element should be predominant throughout the theological reflection upon the data. Practical theology emphasises the possibility of transformation through dialogue. In accordance with Pattison's arguments, this study assumes that this dialogue cannot be truly insightful unless the possibility exists for transformation to occur on all sides.

Swinton and Mowat, despite challenging Pattison's preference for equal conversation between theology and social science, outline a four-stage process of practical theological reflection that includes the express purpose of "entering into dialogue with other sources of knowledge which will help us develop a deeper understanding of the situation."[45] Although Swinton and Mowat oppose models which emphasise equal relationship between theology and "other sources of knowledge,"[46] their model acknowledges that interaction with non-theological sources is a crucial stage in the process of practical theology. Swinton and Mowat's four stages are:

> *Stage One* (current praxis): Identify a situation that requires reflection and critical challenge.
>
> *Stage Two* (cultural/contextual analysis): Begin the process of entering into dialogue with a range of sources of knowledge to develop a deeper understanding of the situation.
>
> *Stage Three* (theological reflection): Allow for critical reflection on the practices of church and world in the light of Scripture and tradition.

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[44] Michael H. Agar, *The Professional Stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography.* Academic Press, San Diego, 1996, 62.
[45] John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research.* SCM Press, London, 2006, 96.
[46] Ibid.

> *Stage Four* (formulating revised practice): Attempt to draw together the cultural/contextual analysis with theological reflections in a conversation which produces new forms of more faithful practice.[47]

This four-stage model of practical theological reflection, based upon the Pastoral Cycle,[48] will help to guide this study. Mutual critical conversation between theology, social science, and the situation being studied will take place during all stages of the process. This is, perhaps, a slight deviation from the way in which Swinton and Mowat intended their model to be used, but its enhanced dialogic element will be of great benefit to this study, as the core enquiry is so deeply embedded across the two fields of theology and development.

4. THE THEOLOGICAL VOICES

The framework of practical theology will be used to explore the implicit and null theologies at work within Christian Aid. It will examine how they compare with the organisation's explicit theology and how they influence and even drive its development agenda. 'Implicit' theologies will be understood as the subliminal theological reflection of Christian Aid staff, supporters and sponsoring churches to guide their work with and for the organisation. Implicit theologies are entangled within – *implicated* in – the everyday life of the organisation. They are not openly acknowledged as influential or important. The term 'null' theology refers to theological topics avoided or referred to obliquely in the everyday life, talk and business of Christian Aid. By comparing the implicit and null theologies with the published 'explicit' theology of Christian Aid (considered the formal theological voice of the organisation), and by reflecting upon how these are used in the context of Christian Aid's development work, the foundation of a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid will begin to emerge.

These categories of implicit, null and explicit equate to some degree to Cameron et al's 'four voices' of practical theology, which are categorised as:

- 'normative': scriptures, creeds and official church teachings

[47] Ibid, 94-97; Dean Pallant, *Keeping Faith in Faith-based Organisations: A practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry.* Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 19-20.
[48] "The pastoral cycle is a process for thinking theologically about a particular situation with the aim of finding new and more faithful ways of acting in the future." (Helen Cameron, *Resourcing Mission: Practical Theology for Changing Churches.* SCM Press, London, 2010, 8.)

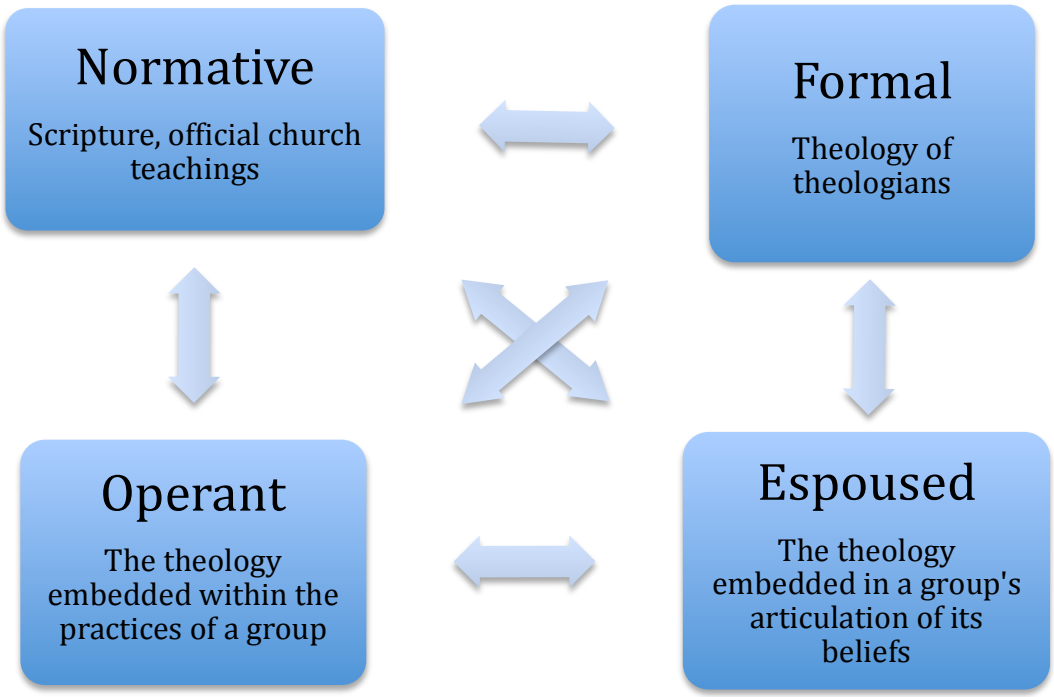
- 'formal': the theology of theologians
- 'espoused': embedded within a group's articulation of its beliefs
- 'operant': the theology embedded within the practices of a group.[49]

The 'formal' theology of Cameron et al's typology is in many ways equivalent to what will be referred to within this thesis as the 'explicit' theology of Christian Aid. The latter is a theology published by Christian Aid, which some staff feel has been imposed upon the organisation and of which many supporters are only peripherally aware. This explicit theology has in some respects claimed normative status in the absence of an overarching theology of development within the Protestant tradition, as the following chapters will explain in greater detail. In this way, Christian Aid's explicit theology claims to take, at least in part, the place of official church teaching as categorised in Cameron et al's structure. The 'espoused' theology of this framework is more difficult to discern within Christian Aid than any of the other voices. It has, for a number of years, been silenced and is only just beginning to emerge through tentative articulations in formal documents and spoken discourse. The 'espoused' theologies of Christian Aid have, for a number of years, been silenced and so this category has in the past been comparable to 'null' theologies. The 'operant' voice is more straightforward to discern within Christian Aid, and in some ways is merged with the incipient 'espoused' theologies. I have chosen to refer to Cameron et al's 'operant' voice as the 'implicit' theologies held by Christian Aid staff, supporters and representatives of sponsoring churches. In keeping with Cameron et al's thinking on how the 'four voices' of theology interact, this study will identify and explore each voice with an awareness that "each voice is never simple. We can never hear one voice without there being echoes of the other three."[50]

The diagrams on the following pages illustrate the comparison between the 'four voices' approach and the approach taken in this study. First, a visual exploration of how the four voices of Cameron et al's framework interact with one another:

[49] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 54.
[50] Ibid.

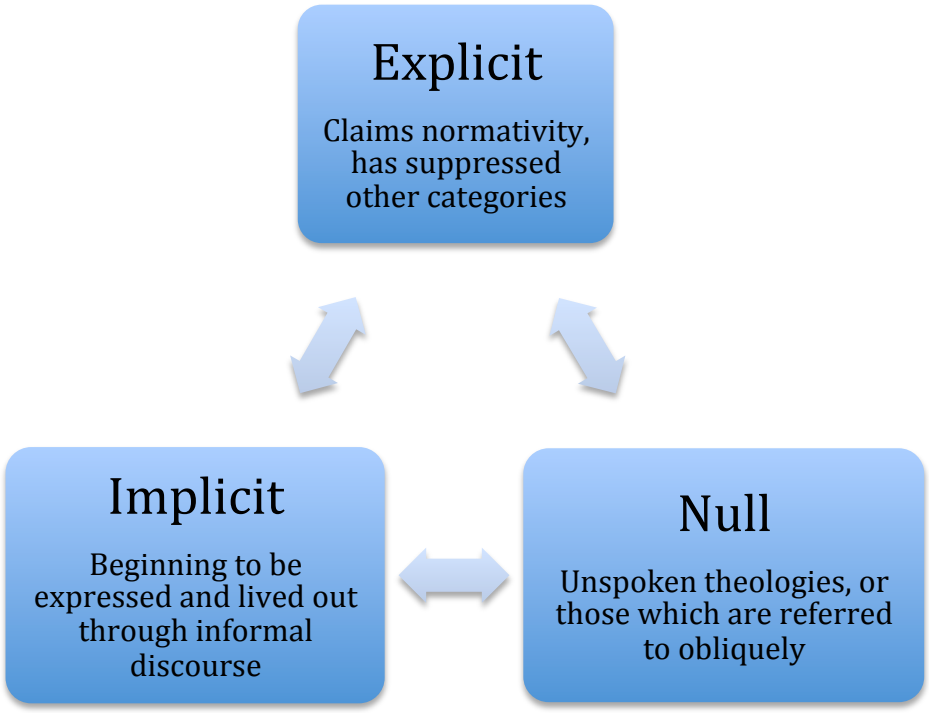
Diagram 1:



All four voices are shown in dialogue with one another, without any hierarchy dictating how this discourse should be conducted.

Now, a diagram that illustrates how the three theological voices being used in this study – implicit, explicit and null – interact with one another in the context of Christian Aid:

Diagram 2:



By contrast, this diagram demonstrates the lower status held by the implicit and null voices at Christian Aid compared to the explicit voice. The latter has suppressed the two former at times during the organisation's recent history, preventing their full expression. Dialogue between the voices has tentatively begun, but as yet does not reflect the full and equal relationship between the different categories in the 'four voices' approach illustrated in Diagram 1.

Watkins et al acknowledge that discerning the different theological voices is complex and requires dexterity. They suggest that "practitioners – often with some difficulty – name the theology that describes what they understand themselves to be about; and in gathering data from practice, we begin to give a complex, often conversational, voice to the operant theology."[51] The conversational element here is vital. In a situation in which operant theologies have been suppressed and

[51] Clare Watkins et al, 'Practical Ecclesiology: What counts as theology in studying the Church?' *Perspectives on Ecclesiology and Ethnography.* Pete Ward (ed.), William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Cambridge, UK, 2012, 177.

essentially made null over a period of years, attention to silences and oblique references within conversation are among the few ways these theologies can be uncovered and explored. Watkins et al suggest that often formal theology addresses only the academy or the theologically fluent, so conversation is a means by which "all voices, in their distinct and proper ways, are understood as theological."[52] This project is most interested in the voices expressing Christian Aid's implicit and null theologies, but in uncovering them it will discuss how they sit in relationship – and in tension – with the explicit, or 'formal', theological voice of Christian Aid. According to the work of Helen Cameron, John Reader, and Victoria Slater with Chris Rowland, hearing the "unheard voices" in a particular context and "mak[ing] these audible" is a key task of practical theology. "Practical theology seeks to direct attention to those things which the church is overlooking but which can contribute to its part in God's mission to the world."[53]

The four voices approach to practical theology forms an important source for this study, providing a framework that has been adapted for use within the particular context being examined. The decision not to use the four voices approach in its original form came about as a result of an understanding that, at the beginning of the project, Christian Aid was experiencing significant internal discomfort with the new, overtly Christian, organisational identity being assumed. The three theological voices – implicit, explicit and null – offer a reflection of this discomfort and the particular theological challenges facing Christian Aid, whilst drawing upon the strengths of the four voices approach in promoting dialogue between the voices, and deploying a process of theological discernment based upon such dialogue.

5. Reflexivity and Ethical Considerations

In carrying out this research, I have assumed the role of 'participant as observer', according to Gold's Typology of Participant Observer Roles.[54] As a Christian Aid employee since February 2009, I have a natural and non-research reason for being part of the research setting – a situation which is fitting in my role as a participant observer, but which brings with it significant advantages and disadvantages. This emic approach will allow me "to pick up on social cues, act appropriately during participant observation, to build rapport in interviews and spot obvious

[52] Ibid, 178.
[53] Helen Cameron, John Reader, Victoria Slater, with Chris Rowland, *Theological Reflection for Human Flourishing: Pastoral practice and public theology.* SCM Press, London, 2012, xi.
[54] Raymond L. Gold, 'Roles in Sociological Field Observation.' *Social Forces,* 36, 1957-8, 217.

inaccuracies and exaggerations."[55] Other researchers have tried to gain access to Christian Aid and have failed to do so, because staff did not trust an 'outsider' sufficiently to discuss the internal workings of the organisation with them in any detail. I am an 'insider' who already commands significant trust within Christian Aid and have ease of access to both staff and supporters. I have been granted permission to observe and record high-level meetings in which I am already a participant, and been granted interviews by the organisation's most senior staff who have shown reluctance in the past to engage with 'outsiders'.

I am well aware, however, that issues of bias abound from my 'insider' status. It is impossible for me to obtain an entirely objective perspective upon my subject matter, but I would argue that such objectivity is difficult to achieve in any case. Having worked in both secular and faith-based international development organisations in Australia, the UK, the Philippines and Vietnam I am biased towards 'faithful' development work as opposed to that which claims to be 'value-free'. The former accords with my own beliefs and values; and I do not believe that it is possible to work in any arena, particularly one as subjective as development, without imposing some value frame upon the work being done. Even were I not an employee of Christian Aid, my own faith would lead me to hold a significant bias towards faith-based development. I have worked to ensure this bias does not undermine the validity of the study through rigorous triangulation of data. The information I have gathered through interviews and participant observation is analysed alongside internal and external reporting on Christian Aid's work, and academic literature on development and theology. I have held workshops to allow participants to discuss and respond to early conclusions drawn from interviews and observation sessions. These measures have helped ensure that my findings are the result of careful analysis of the data gathered, rather than reflective of any inherent bias. As long as care is taken to mitigate bias, I believe that "the view of the insider and the view of the outsider offer different approaches to often the same questions, and neither should be seen as superior or of more value than the other."[56] Objective reality can never be captured, but triangulation through

[55] Luke Bretherton, 'Coming to Judgment: Methodological reflections on the relationship between ecclesiology, ethnography and political theory.' *Modern Theology*, 28:2, 2012, 23.
[56] Bilal Sambur, 'From the Dichotomy of Spiritualism/Ritualism to the Dichotomy of Insider/Outsider.' *Theorizing Faith: The insider/outsider problem in the study of ritual.* Elizabeth Arweck and Martin D. Stringer (eds.), the University of Birmingham Press, Birmingham, 2002, 31.

multiple ethnographic methods that gain a variety of perspectives on the subject-matter add "rigour… richness and depth"[57] to an 'insider' enquiry.

Significant ethical issues also arise from my status as an 'insider', including those of confidentiality and openness. My role as an employee of Christian Aid has given me cause, in the past, to state opinions openly which relate directly to the questions I am asking participants in interviews. In addition, many staff and volunteers assume that my role in the organisation means I will take a particular position on certain issues. Some participants may feel uncomfortable about expressing opinions they suspect diverge from my own. For this reason, I made the commitment not to interview anybody currently reporting to me, or who has reported to me in the past. Although this meant I could not interview many of the people who work on Christian Aid's church resources on a day-to-day basis, I could still interview the organisation's main decision-makers, those in charge of country programmes, staff members who hold high-level relationships with Christian Aid's sponsoring churches, and those who work with local supporters and volunteers – as well as the supporters and volunteers themselves.

In considering these ethical issues, a full ethics clearance process was undertaken through King's College London, and approval granted for my proposed interviewing of staff, supporters, and staff of sponsoring churches of Christian Aid.[58] Crucial to this ethical clearance was the maintaining of the anonymity of all participants in the study; and a clear feedback process to all those taking part. Both of these conditions were made clear to all participants when they agreed to take part in the study, agreement which was formalized through the signing of participant consent forms.[59] All those approached to participate in the study agreed to do so, and consent forms were obtained from all.

Finally, I undertook this research with an awareness – indeed, an expectation – that my own views and biases would be challenged. "Ethnographers who submit themselves to periods of immersion in another culture inevitably take the risk that their own way of looking at the world will be challenged, transformed, and perhaps

[57] John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research.* SCM Press, London, 2006, 51.
[58] See Appendix One.
[59] See Appendix Two.

destroyed."[60] I would argue that such periods of immersion, close attention and questioning within a familiar culture or context can produce a similar result, with the long-held views of the 'insider' being challenged and perhaps transformed. It was in the hope that such transformation would be a part of my own research experience that I embarked upon this project.

6. THE RESEARCH PROCESS

An enormous amount of social research is conducted among relatively 'disempowered' groups, by relatively 'empowered' researchers. This thesis, by contrast, does not focus upon the 'disempowered' people Christian Aid is working to assist in poor and middle-income countries around the world. Rather, it concentrates on the main decision-makers and influencers at Christian Aid, in the London office and in country offices around the world; on the leadership of sponsoring denominations; and the leadership of local churches which support the organisation. It looks at how these groups and individuals interact with one another and with Christian Aid's stakeholders to shape the organisation's faith identity.

I initially selected participants on the basis of my own knowledge of the organisation. They are people who wield influence in Christian Aid's theological life and have insight into the how the organisation's 'faithfulness' has developed over the years, particularly during the recent period of rapid change from 2011 onwards. Some of my initial interviewees recommended others I should interview, some of whom accorded with my own ideas and others who were either completely unknown to me or had not occurred to me as being useful sources of opinion and information. In many cases, these unexpected participants turned out to hold significant stores of knowledge and capacity for reflection on the theologies at work within Christian Aid. Interviews and observations with these and other individuals saw themes and motifs emerge which – through both conscious and unconscious repetition by staff and supporters – both sanction and challenge the theological position expressed by Christian Aid in its explicit theology.

[60] Fiona Bowie, *Anthropology of Religion: An introduction.* Blackwell, Malden US and Oxford UK, 2006, 9.

Interviews were carried out informally, rather than formally. A set of questions was developed at the outset of the study to guide each conversation;[61] but it soon became clear that some of the most fruitful and insightful conversations occurred beyond the remit of these questions. I therefore took a flexible approach to interviews, adhering to the standard questions at the outset of each conversation but pursuing particular lines of enquiry as they arose in the interview context.

Interviews are criticised as a valid ethnographic method due to the responses being given in an artificial setting, to some degree prompted by the interviewer.[62] To ensure the interview data was not misleading, participant observation was used to test the data collected through interviews, and to gather further information.[63] This has mitigated against 'artificial' data being used without corroboration, and helped prevent bias affecting the results through interview subjects being led down a particular line of questioning. Interviewing is a vital source of research data which "provides us with a means for exploring the points of view of our research subjects, while granting these points of view the culturally honoured status of reality."[64] Through careful deployment, interview data contributed enormously to the scope and richness of this study.

Data generated through interviews and observations was analysed first using themes I had identified at the outset of the research project as being of potential significance. However, the data analysis process allowed new and different themes to emerge, which were applied progressively as they were identified. Some of those themes which I had expected to be of significance within the data turned out to be so; but others were dropped as they proved not to be of great importance to participants. Those that were used were therefore an amalgamation of anticipated and emergent themes, identified through a responsive approach to the data.

Christian Aid holds a significant archive of internal documentation across various areas of work, and textual analysis of items within this archive was carried out during the fieldwork phase of this study. Through it, observations were made not

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[61] See Appendix Three.
[62] Johnson and Kaplan (1980), referenced in David Silverman, *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology: Describing the social world.* Ashgate, Aldershot, 1985, 110.
[63] Michael H. Agar, *The Professional Stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography.* Academic Press, San Diego, 1996,158.
[64] Jody Miller and Barry Glassner, 'The "Inside" and the "Outside": Finding realities in interviews.' *Qualitative Research: Theory, method and practice.* David Silverman (ed.), Sage, London, 2004, 127.

only on the published explicit theology of Christian Aid, but on implicit theologies at work in textual, rather than oral, form. External media reporting and previous academic investigations into Christian Aid's work are also archived. This fixed body of textual data is a rich source from which an "excellent and fruitful… analysis of events"[65] can be drawn, providing further triangulation with interview data.

7. CONCLUSION

Discerning the place of theology in society, in particular its place in contexts where Christians seek to offer succor to others, is a difficult and sometimes fraught process. Practical theology has been formulated in large part to achieve this goal, offering a mode of enquiry that seeks to reconcile dissonance between talk about God, talk about the world and action within the world. Practical theology will be used to discern how Christian Aid talks, thinks and acts in relation to gospel teaching and how this, in turn, drives the development work of the organisation. By using critical ethnography in partnership with practical theology, a renewed theology of international development will emerge which can be used to guide Christian Aid's thinking on faith and how faith influences the organisation's work. Dietrich Bonhoeffer claimed that Christ "takes form" in the world;[66] this thesis will use practical theology to reveal that form at work within Christian Aid.

[65] *Ethnographic Research: A guide to general conduct.* R.F. Ellen (ed.), Academic Press, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, London, 1984, 75.
[66] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics.* Eberhard Bethge (ed.), N. Horton Smith (trans.), SCM Press, London, 1971, 66-68.

CHAPTER ONE:

SECULAR AND FAITH DISCOURSES OF DEVELOPMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to respond to Research Question 3 as laid out in the Introduction to this thesis:

> *What are the points of consensus and contention between secular and faith discourses of development and how do they each influence the other?*

In responding, this chapter will begin by formulating a baseline understanding of the term 'development' to be used throughout the thesis, contextualised by examples of approaches taken to development from a variety of perspectives.

The chapter will then move to an analysis of the history of development. It will start by examining the key influences upon secular development discourse, such as economic growth models, modernisation and secularisation. It will then explore a faith-based narrative of development from a number of Christian perspectives, in particular through the formation and growth of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the approach taken to development by the Catholic Church, as laid out in Catholic Social Teaching (CST). These Christian institutions have the greatest potential to illuminate the subject matter of this thesis, as the WCC was a key formative influence upon Christian Aid; and CST shares a number of Christian Aid's underpinnings, but with the key difference that it exists as a theological framework for faith-oriented development that the Protestant tradition has lacked.

The analysis of the two divergent discourses of development, the secular and the Christian, will then be brought into dialogue, using Amartya Sen's 'capabilities approach' as an interpretive lens. This approach has drawn upon and, in turn, influenced elements of development discourse from both faith and secular traditions. I will analyse the ways in which it has influenced faith-based development, but has also been held in tension with the works of faith-oriented thinkers. Alongside Sen's secular perspective on development, Rowan Williams' works – which address the same subject through a theological lens – will provide insight into faith-oriented development as a distinct discourse in its own right.

By drawing upon the historical context of modern development discourse and practice, tracing the divergent paths of secular and faith discourses of development, and examining the works of a key thinker from each perspective, this chapter explores the points of consensus and contention between these discourses. It lays an informed and dynamic foundation for the in-depth discussion of Christian Aid's various theologies of development and how they influence the organisation's identity, which will follow in Chapter Two.

2. Approaches To Development

Although the term 'development' is widely used to denote a trajectory from economic deprivation to wealth (and the various stages between), there exist a multitude of approaches to this term from various schools of thought. They provide rich diversity and some significant points of contention, both academic and practical. This section gives a brief overview of the approaches to development of greatest relevance to this study. It arrives at an understanding of what development means in the context of Christian Aid's work – or what it could mean in the future for Christian Aid as a fully faith-oriented organisation.

2.1. Economic Growth Models of Development

Although it is possible to over-simplify this very complex approach, economic growth models can be characterised as conceiving of a single path to development through increased wealth, generated through open markets and measured by Gross National Product (GNP). The 'Washington Consensus'[67] exemplified this approach, and was promoted as the global blueprint to bring about economic growth in any context. In return for financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, many countries were forced to open their economies up to global trade before their industries were mature enough to withstand international competition.[68]

[67] The term 'Washington Consensus' was "coined by John Williamson in 1989 to denote the neoliberal policies advocated for developing countries by the US administration: free trade, privatization, deregulation, balanced budgets, inflation targeting, floating exchange rates. What defined the new world view was the classical belief in efficient and self-regulated markets. Free markets would deliver *better* results than fettered ones." (Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes: The return of the master.* Penguin, London, 2010, 99-100.)

[68] "I saw firsthand the devastating effect that globalization can have on developing countries, and especially the poor within those countries. I believe that globalization – the removal of barriers to free trade and the closer integration of national economies – can be a force for good and that it has the *potential* to enrich everyone in the world, particularly the poor. But I also believe that if this is to be the case, the way globalization has been managed, including the international trade agreements that have played such a large role in removing those barriers and the policies that have been imposed on

This section addresses economic growth models of development first because for many decades these have provided the normative paradigm of development against which all other perspectives have been measured. Sabina Alkire sums up the desire of many faith thinkers and practitioners to draw a distinction between faith models of development and secular, economic growth models by suggesting that "visions of development from faith perspectives may differ significantly from economic development."[69] Implicit within Alkire's comment is the idea that economic growth models of development are the definition against which all others are measured. This suggests that even the strongest advocates of alternative approaches to development regard them as marginal by comparison to the dominant economic growth paradigm. Rowan Williams also recognises – and seeks to challenge – the dominance of economic growth models by urging us to "question the nostrums of recent decades, and above all persistently ask the awkward question of what we want growth *for,* what model of well-being we actually assume in our economics… And this should also give us a clear orientation in thinking through what we mean by 'development' in countries with dysfunctional or immature economies."[70] Thinkers including Joseph Stiglitz[71], Robert Skidelsky[72] and Edward Skidelsky[73], Robert Sugden[74] and Thia Cooper[75] have joined Williams in questioning from a variety of perspectives whether constant, unbridled growth has delivered good to anyone but those who already enjoy wealth. They have suggested that another paradigm must be constructed within which human flourishing can more successfully occur.

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developing countries in the process of globalization, need to be radically rethought." (Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents.* Penguin, London, 2002, ix-x.)

[69] Sabina Alkire, 'Religion and Development.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies.* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, M.A., 2006, 503.

[70] Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square.* Bloomsbury, London, 2012, 5. See also *Populorum Progressio: Encyclical of Pope Paul VI on the development of peoples.* In this encyclical, Pope Paul VI claimed that "The development we speak of here cannot be restricted to economic growth alone. To be authentic, it must be well rounded; it must foster the development of each man and of the whole man." (Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio: Encyclical of Pope Paul VI on the development of peoples.* 26 March 1967. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/ encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum _en.html. Viewed 18 August 2013, pt. 14) In Christian Aid's strategic framework *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty,* the organisation claims that "Over recent decades, unprecedented economic development across the world has exacerbated the scale and reach of poverty, creating a growing divide of inequality between rich and poor. We reject a world where extreme suffering exists amid such plenty." (Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 4.)

[71] Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents.* Penguin, London, 2002, ix-x.

[72] Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes: The return of the master.* Penguin, London, 2010, 3–14.

[73] Robert and Edward Skidelsky, *How Much is Enough? The love of money, and the case for the good life.* Penguin, London, 2012, 3–4.

[74] Robert Sugden, 'Welfare, Resources and Capabilities: A review of *Inequality Reexamined* by Amartya Sen.' *Journal of Economic Literature,* 31:4, 1993, 1954.

[75] Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Political Theology: Development or liberation?* SCM Press, London, 2007, 12.

2.2. CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDINGS OF DEVELOPMENT

Christian understandings of development cannot be conflated into either a single definition, or a single tradition of thought. Christian perspectives upon development are drawn from a plethora of sources, including theological reflections on poverty and inequality; missiological interpretations of such poverty and inequality; and understandings based in Christian development practice as distinct from mission. Rather than offer an extensive survey of all of these perspectives, it is most pertinent here to identify the common threads and the particular perspectives of greatest relevance to this study.

One potentially unifying theme, drawing Christian perspectives together, is a desire for an alternative to economic growth models of development. Christian perspectives offer some of the strongest challenges to the economic growth paradigm, often because they are underpinned by a relational rather than quantifiable interpretation of the development process, focusing upon the inherent dignity and worth of all people as created in the image of God. It is this underpinning that informs Rowan Williams' perspective of what the development process should be.

> To be stuck in a reactive relation to the material world, incapable of getting beyond subsistence, survival, is a tragedy in the light of what humanity could be. To recover the image of God must mean recovering an intelligent and creative way of relating to and working with the environment – not by being set free from dependence on the environment but by being able to shape it and direct it in certain ways so as both to express and to increase the creative liberty of human persons (in harmony with the flourishing of all creation). 'Development' is an aspect of this self-recovery and self-awareness as an agent within the world, capable of making a difference that will serve human dignity.[76]

Williams' interpretation of development as rediscovering God in how we relate to one another, and of making people the driving force in their own lives so that they might flourish and bring their gifts to the human community, is characteristic of

[76] Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion.' A speech delivered on 12 November 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012, 5.

many Christian approaches to development. It is a perspective that can be traced back to the end of World War Two, when modern development discourse and praxis began. In the war's aftermath, Christian Reconstruction in Europe (as Christian Aid was originally named) extended assistance to German refugees. This was a refusal to ignore that they, just like refugees of allied nations, had been made in the image of God, and should not be left to suffer.[77]

Christian Aid's understanding of the development process, as laid out in its current strategy document, claims that "the work of Christian Aid is a way of living out the sacrificial love of God in Jesus", and that "central to our Christian faith is our belief that all people are created equally in the image of God, with inherent dignity and infinite worth."[78] However, the strategy offers no clear understanding of what the development process entails for Christian Aid or its partners; nor is there further reflection upon how the inherent dignity and worth of all people underpins this work. Far more prevalent are concepts such as power and inequality, without a Christian or theological discussion of these terms. Christian Aid does not put the concept of all people being made in the image of God at the centre of its understanding of development, but it does follow Williams and other Christian thinkers in challenging the dominant secular paradigm of economic growth-driven development.

Christian perspectives on development have typically drawn upon the concept of all people being made in the image of God, and this theological underpinning will therefore influence and inform the understanding of development used in this study.

2.3. Approaches Drawn from Development Practice

The definitions categorised here as being drawn from development practice attempt to describe development in terms of its tangible impact in poor communities. However, Thia Cooper has pointed out that such definitions rarely capture what is actually happening in poor communities. Rather, they articulate what the definer hopes will take place in the future. Echoing Gilbert Rist, Cooper concludes that action-based definitions of development tend to be "wish lists"

[77] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 5.
[78] Ibid, 4-5.

rather than reflections of reality.[79] Some definitions of development from an action, or practitioner, standpoint are so basic and broadly observable that they avoid such wish-list tendencies. For example, the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* project report concludes that the meaning of development, distilled from hours of observation and research in poor communities, is "the enhanced wellbeing of those who have it least."[80] This definition tells us very little about how development is understood by either the individual or the group positing the definition. What is 'enhanced wellbeing'? Is it understood to encompass social, political and economic wellbeing, or could it also encompass spiritual wellbeing? Is it wellbeing as defined by the person deemed to be poor, or as defined by the observer? This definition, and others like it, hinge upon the dynamic between the definer and the defined. They raise questions about whether the observer of development in action is defining the process through a particular lens, and whether those living in poor communities experiencing the process of development have contributed to the proposed definition.

Arturo Escobar's interpretation of the development process, which is rooted in post-development liberation thought, attempts to explicitly address this dynamic between the definer and the defined. His definition focuses upon power, understanding the process of development as "little more than colonialism at a distance; a set of discursive and material practices which seek to make the rest more like the West, and which aim to make the rest safe for Western interests."[81] But he gives us more than merely an indictment of the process as he observes it – he puts forward a proposal for what development should entail if carried out well. He suggests his own 'wish list' of development as "people- rather than growth-centred, and would trust rather more to the wit and wisdom of local populations in the (so-called) Third World."[82] Here, Escobar prefaces some of the more recent

[79] Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Political Theology: Development or liberation?* SCM Press, London, 2007, 12. Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From western origins to global faith.* Patrick Camiller (trans.), Zed Books, London and New York, 2014, 11.
[80] Deepa Narayan et al, *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for change.* Oxford University Press for the World Bank, Oxford, 2000, 264.
[81] Stuart Corbridge, interpreting Escobar's vision of development, 'Introduction.' *Development: Critical concepts in the social sciences.* Stuart Corbridge (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, 2000, 1. Corbridge's interpretation draws heavily upon Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995. See also Arturo Escobar, 'Planning.' *The Development Dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power.* Wolfgang Sachs (ed.), Zed Books, London and New York, 2007, 149.
[82] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, 2.

Christian definitions of development, which insist upon the process being rooted in poor people's experiences and relationships.[83]

Those attempting to encapsulate the development process from an action, or practitioner, perspective tend not to favour technical or economic growth-oriented definitions. This is evident in Escobar's approach and, even more clearly, in that of P.W. Preston. Three decades ago Preston called for a more nuanced understanding of development, moving beyond the language of economic growth and focusing upon the agency of the individuals and groups concerned. "In the circumstances of the Third World, what is to count as development will be a negotiated meaning among those groups involved. It is not a term that can be given any fixed sense and thereafter just simply imposed. It is not technical, and it certainly is not obvious."[84] In 1997, Preston offered a more pragmatic framework for understanding what is involved in the development process, defining it by what he believed it was in practice. However, in doing so, Preston focused far more on the role of states than of poor communities. According to his later characterisation, development:

> (a) establishes some sort of exchange between states in respect of securing planned change in one state with the assistance of another
> (b) identifies a complex spread of changes
> (c) typically demands the involvement of a variety of groups, and is sustained through a variety of institutional channels
> (d) is an asymmetrical exchange in terms of the powers of the states involved.[85]

This description touches upon the role of poor communities ("a variety of groups") and the power dynamic inherent in the development process ("asymmetrical exchange"). But it seems clear that in the 12 years between the formulation of his first and his second definition, Preston's conception of development had moved away from being rooted in the actions of poor communities, towards viewing states as central and other stakeholders as marginal.

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[83] Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion.' A speech delivered on 12 November, 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012, 5. Sabina Alkire, 'Religion and Development.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies,* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK, Northampton MA, USA, 2006, 505.
[84] P.W. Preston, *New Trends in Development Theory: Essays in development and social theory.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1985, 153.
[85] P.W. Preston, *Development Theory: An introduction.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, 151.

The approaches of Cooper, Escobar and Preston provide some valuable insights. But these insights emerge from defining development either according to what it would look like in an ideal world; or what the observer thinks it should *not* be and should *not* entail. Is it possible that research-based definitions of development could offer more concrete insights, without being held to an idealised measure?

2.4. Approaches Drawn from Development Theory

Approaches to and characterisations of development often focus on process, rather than objectives and outcomes. In their examination of the post-growth global economy, Skidelsky and Skidelsky propose 'the good life' as the outcome development should aspire to. They define the good life as "a life that is desirable, or worthy of desire, not just one that is widely desired. But neither can the good life differ utterly from the aspirations of most people across the world and across time."[86] Skidelsky and Skidelsky's work avoids technical discourse, power analyses, or the construction of a dichotomy between well-laid plans and the more depressing reality. It is a focus on this reality that draws many of the earlier-cited definitions into the realm of process, rather than looking at the overall objectives of development. Giving poor people the life they desire is ultimately what development should be striving to achieve – and although this life will vary in its finer details, Skidelsky and Skidelsky do not enter into discussion of what these finer details may be. To lead the good life, they suggest, requires at least some universally-desired elements – and it is these elements that development should be working to provide.

Similarly, the human development approach provides a theoretical understanding of development which focuses on providing what is universally desired, is necessary for living a good life and will expand an individual's capabilities. Human development theorists have deliberately differentiated their discourse from more economically oriented approaches, focusing instead on how social and political efforts can alleviate poverty.[87] Human development "draws on the greatness of

[86] Robert and Edward Skidelsky, *How Much is Enough? The love of money, and the case for the good life.* Penguin, London, 2012, 145.

[87] "Over the last decade Amartya Sen's Capability Approach has emerged as the leading alternative to standard economic frameworks for thinking about poverty, inequality and human development generally." (David A. Clark, 'Capability Approach.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK, Northampton MA, USA, 2006, 32.) Robert Sugden cites Sen's comparison of life expectancy in Costa Rica (75 years) with life expectancy in the

human potentiality despite our narrowly circumscribed lives. Lack of schooling, meagre healthcare, inadequate economic opportunities, violation of political liberties, denial of civil rights, and other hostile influences can powerfully limit and frustrate human lives. The perspective of human development is based on the recognition that the hindrances that people face can be removed through social efforts as well as individual initiatives."[88] Amartya Sen is generally recognised as the main proponent of the human development approach, characterising development as 'freedom' and poverty as 'unfreedom.'[89] These definitions are the centerpiece of Sen's capabilities approach, a framework designed to distill the elements key to development, which others have consistently failed to encapsulate. Sen suggests that enhancing 'freedoms' and bringing an end to 'unfreedoms' are together "the primary end and the principle means"[90] of development, neatly claiming to solve the conundrum of how to draw together ends and means within the development process in a cohesive whole.

The capabilities approach is viewed by many as a useful perspective on development, but it is not without its critics. Severin Deneulin has questioned whether it is possible to apply such a broad definition within so many widely differing contexts. She points to Sen's claim that the desires of the individual adhere to certain universally-applicable themes as the weak link which threatens to topple the whole theory.[91] Similarly, Robert Sugden suggests Sen's insistence that some capabilities are valuable in all contexts is erroneous, "given the extent of

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United States (76 years) as proof that, despite the wildly different GNP of the two countries ($1,780 per person in Costa Rica; $20,910 in the US), the capabilities of citizens are by some measures comparable due to the two countries offering citizens similar levels of access to education and healthcare. Sugden concludes that "This kind of analysis is an important challenge to the common view that the 'wealth-creating' effects of competitive markets offer a long-term solution to the problem of poverty." (Robert Sugden, "Welfare, Resources and Capabilities: A review of *Inequality Reexamined* by Amartya Sen." *Journal of Economic Literature,* 31;4, 1993, 1954.)

[88] Amartya Sen, 'Human Development Index.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*. David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK, Northampton MA, USA, 2006, 256.

[89] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, xii. Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined.* Russell Sage Foundation, New York and Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, 5. Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice.* Penguin, London, 2010, 228. These are just three sources in which Sen explores the idea of development as freedom and poverty as unfreedom. In her 2011 work *Creating Capabilities,* Martha Nussbaum went so far as to use the terms 'Human Development approach' and 'capabilities approach' interchangeably, demonstrating the extent to which Sen's ideas are considered by some to form the centerpiece of Human Development. (Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, 17.)

[90] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, xii.

[91] Severine Denuelin, 'Beyond Individual Freedom and Agency: Structures of living together in the capability approach.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 106.

disagreement among reasonable people about the nature of a good life."[92] This study therefore considers the capabilities approach to be an influential, but widely contested, approach to defining development in both theory and practice.

2.5. Arriving at a Working Understanding

This section has demonstrated that defining development is far from straightforward – particularly regarding perspectives that depart from the normative paradigm of secular, economically-rooted development. It is such departures that are of greatest interest to this study, because they share the human, relational perspective that sits at the heart of the renewed theology of development I will propose for Christian Aid. Vital to this renewed understanding of faith-motivated development is Rowan Williams' articulation of development as a recovery of the image of God in how we relate to each other. Echoes of this Christian perspective can be found in Escobar's demand that development become "people- rather than growth-centred"[93] and in the capability-enhancing human development approach. However, none of these people- and relationship-oriented conceptions touch explicitly on development's spiritual and cultural aspects. Economic approaches are being questioned or revised largely because they ignore these crucial elements of development. Skidelsky and Skidelsky propose that the elements that contribute to 'the good life' are universal, desired by all and therefore do not need to be questioned or debated; and Sen, in a similar fashion, suggests that the capabilities required to achieve fullness of life are universally desired and do not differ greatly according to culture, faith, geography, gender or any other variable of the human condition. The trap these definitions fall into is comparable to the presumption which has begun to topple economic development from its normative pedestal: what is good for one person is good for all. Granted, the human development approach (and, similarly, Skidelsky and Skidelsky's approach to development rooted in the good life) is not prescriptive in terms of exactly *what* is universally desired. But these claims of universality that transcend all human differences shut down discussion of the cultural or spiritual aspects of development.

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[92] Robert Sugden, 'Welfare, Resources and Capabilities: A review of *Inequality Re-examined* by Amartya Sen.' *Journal of Economic Literature,* 31, 1993, 1952-3.
[93] Stuart Corbridge, interpreting Escobar's vision of development, 'Introduction.' *Development: Critical concepts in the social sciences.* Stuart Corbridge (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, 2000, 1.

What sets Williams' definition apart is his focus on *relationship* rather than the universality of human experience. Sen claims that people living in poverty need the same opportunities ('capabilities') as those with wealth, so that they are just as able to direct their own lives and make their own choices. But Williams places responsibility firmly on those with greater opportunities and wealth to understand that their experience comes at the expense of others – others who are just as worthy because they, too, have been made in the image of God. To emphasise this relational conception of development, Williams quotes Anthony the Great: "Our life and our death is with our neighbour… If we cause our brother to stumble, we have sinned against Christ."[94] Williams draws on an understanding of relationship formed by a commitment to Christ, and in doing so opens up the spiritual and cultural aspects of development. Sen and others ignore these aspects in the belief that spiritual forces impose identities and create unhelpful bias, rather than being a guide to understanding.[95] Williams taps into the belief, common to all major faith traditions, that human life is precious, and that all lives are precious in equal measure.[96] By Williams' account, to live in plenty is to cause another to live in a state of deprivation. Therefore, we hold mutual responsibility for each other's development. This concept of mutuality does not feature in the capabilities approach, which emphasises individual agency as a means to achieving the good life.

This study will acknowledge the importance of the concrete steps needed to bring about tangible improvements in people's lives – for example, Escobar's desire that development should be shaped by those it is designed to benefit. However, I will place greater significance on the idea that all people are made in the image of God and are, therefore, equally deserving of fullness in life. Development will be defined in this study as: g*rowth towards fullness of life, achieved through an understanding of each person as a precious being made in the image of God, capable of contributing to the human community.* This understanding will inform my proposed renewed theology of development for Christian Aid, and will be used as a benchmark against which other articulations of the development process will be measured.

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[94] Rowan Williams, *Where God Happens; Discovering Christ in one another.* New Seeds, Boston, 2007, 13.
[95] Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice.* Penguin, London, 2010, 247.
[96] Duncan Green refers to this concept as 'the Golden Rule.' Duncan Green, *From Poverty to Power: How active citizens and effective states can change the world.* Oxfam International, Oxford, 2008, 37; Saul D. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals.* Vintage Books, New York, 1989, 56.

3. SECULAR DISCOURSES OF DEVELOPMENT

This section explores the central forces and key milestones in the modern evolution of secular development discourse and practice. In doing so, it will identify how and why the secular discourse has deviated from, yet at the same time influenced, faith-oriented discourses of development.

3.1. THE ORIGINS OF MODERN DEVELOPMENT

A popular starting point for tracing the history of development from a secular perspective is President Truman's 1949 inaugural speech to Congress, in which the terms 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' were used for the first time in a high-profile context, to define countries' relative success in reaching a particular standard of living for their citizens.[97] Significantly, Truman claimed that the post-World War Two (WWII) period marked the end of colonialism and the beginning of development. He asserted that: "For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people… The old imperialism – exploitation for foreign profit – has no place in our plans."[98] Pinpointing the beginning of an era of development was a declaration of a new future, an attempt to lay to rest the colonial power-structures which had dominated global politics for centuries.[99]

This was a period of enormous change. Independent new countries were being created; the Bretton Woods institutions were being established to promote stable

[97] Dhammika Herath, 'The Discourse of Development: Has it reached maturity?' *Third World Quarterly,* 30:8, 2009, 1449. A measure of the influence of Truman's speech can be discerned by reading the *Development Dictionary,* in which ten of the 20 essays cite Truman's address as the moment of initiation of modern development discourse and practice. *The Development Dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power.* Wolfgang Sachs (ed.), Zed Books, London and New York, 2010. See particularly Wolfgang Sachs, 'Introduction', xv; Gustavo Esteva, 'Development', 1; C. Douglas Lummis, 'Equality', 46; Marianne Gronemeyer, 'Helping', 65; Ivan Illich, 'Needs', 99; Barbara Duden, 'Population', 165; Majid Rahnema, 'Poverty', 178; Jean Robert, 'Production', 195; Serge Latouche, 'Standard of Living', 279; and Otto Ulrich, 'Technology', 308.

[98] Harry S. Truman, 'Inaugural Address', Thursday 20 January 1949. www.bartleby.com/124/pres53.html. Viewed 8 August 2014, pts. 46 and 53.

[99] Despite Truman's dismissal of "the old imperialism" in his address, development and colonialism have continued to remain inextricably entwined concepts – the former being accused of perpetuating the latter and the latter refusing to be laid to rest so long as inequitable global power relations continue to be a feature of the political and social landscape. Van Ufford and Schoffeleers made this point in 1988, asserting that: "The concept of development received its rallying force and political appeal in the context of the decolonization process. Its primary function in those days was to summarize and symbolize the quest for more equitable relations between the western powers and their former colonies… Political decolonization and development are thus intimately related concepts; the former referring to a past which was being rejected, the latter conveying the hopes and promises of a better future." (Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers, 'Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology and Development Studies.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 12.)

and free-flowing international trade;[100] and many of the now-prominent international development agencies came into being, including Christian Aid.[101] Both Truman's address[102] and the outcomes of the Bretton Woods conference[103] demonstrate that Western leaders thought capitalism and democracy were each necessary for development to occur successfully.

The championing of democracy and capitalism was indicative of an acceptance of the United States as the social and economic model toward which all 'underdeveloped' nations were expected to progress. The labeling of countries as 'underdeveloped' by a self-appointed 'developed' country was an expression of the global power of the United States and the relative powerlessness of other countries. This was to become a defining dynamic in relations between 'developed' and 'under-developed' countries for decades to come.[104] P.W. Preston goes even further in his analysis of the power imbalance embedded in Truman's speech, claiming: "The essence of the doctrine was that political change not agreed by the USA was to be blocked."[105] Significant and wide-ranging intervention by 'developed' countries in the affairs of 'under-developed' countries has been a hallmark of the international development process ever since, as "the discipline's power, identity

[100] "Having begun to ponder the possible shape of the postwar world, the allied leaders held a conference to discuss the structure they would give to the world economy. This meeting took place at a hotel in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. It began within a month of D-Day and lasted three weeks… The Bretton Woods conference would provide the blueprint for the postwar capitalist economy." (John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and practice in the Third World.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, 1996, 5.) This blueprint was founded upon the notions of open, liberal trade; and of the United States as the driving force behind a global economic system founded upon liberal capitalist principles. (P.W. Preston, *Development Theory: An introduction.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, 168.)

[101] 'Christian Aid's History.' www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/who/history/index.aspx. Viewed 17 June 2012.

[102] "Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change." (Harry S. Truman, 'Inaugural Address', Thursday 20 January 1949, www.bartleby.com/124/pres53.html. Viewed 8 August 2014, pt. 18.) "We must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume. Economic recovery and peace itself depend on increased world trade." (Ibid, pt. 36.)

[103] "The Bretton Woods conference was concerned primarily with establishing a favourable international environment for economic growth, but Keynes' influence was evident in another way: his thinking had come to exercise a profound impact on a generation of political leaders. Keynes' recipe for economic development was accepted not only for the international system but for domestic economies as well. His vision of a smoothly running capitalist economy involved a much greater role for the state than had been tolerated in classical and neoclassical models of development, which had been more concerned with the free market." (John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and practice in the Third World.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, 1996, 7.)

[104] M.P. Cowen and R.W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development.* Routledge, London and New York, 1996, 8.

[105] P.W. Preston, *Development Theory: An introduction.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, 158.

and charisma derive from 'intervention.'"[106] The desire to impose Western ideals of democracy, capitalism and liberalised trade led to the now-infamous 'Washington Consensus',[107] which became the major framework through which these ideals were exported. The Washington Consensus made economic growth models the dominate development discourse and practice, and is now widely acknowledged as a model that fuelled inequality. Joseph Stiglitz, former Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the World Bank, has asserted: "The net effect of the policies set by the Washington Consensus has all too often been to benefit the few at the expense of the many, the well-off at the expense of the poor."[108] From the very beginnings of modern development, identified by many as dating from President Truman's inaugural address, imbalances of power have been central to development theory and practice. They cut across both secular and faith-based development discourse, and throw up issues for debate which remain unresolved today.

3.2. Economic Growth Models of Development

The establishment of capitalist economic models as normative within development has created a discourse with little space for values, beliefs and relationships. It has been suggested that this was not the intention of those who established the post-WWII economic structures,[109] but rather that economc growth models began to dominate following the shift away from Keynesian economics instigated by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan following their election to office in 1979 and 1980 respectively.[110] During this period, the concept of free-market capitalism ruled supreme. Economic growth models of development became so ubiquitous,[111]

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[106] Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers, 'Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology and Development Studies.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 13.
[107] The Washington Consensus is summed up by Joseph Stiglitz as "a consensus between the IMF, the World Bank and the US Treasury about the 'right' policies for developing countries." (Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents.* Penguin, London, 2002, 16.)
[108] Ibid, 20.
[109] "The Bretton Woods system broadly reflected the Keynesian view that an international economy needed strong political and institutional supports if it was to be acceptably stable… [but] the Bretton Woods institutions fell far short of Keynes's plan for an 'economic government of the world'." (Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes: The return of the master.* Penguin, London, 2010, 115.)
[110] Ibid, 99.
[111] In her 2011 work *Creating Capabilities: The human development approach,* Martha Nussbaum suggested that: "Reigning theories in the field [of economics] influence the choice of political leaders and policy-makers, whether directly, through their own appreciation of these theories, or indirectly, through advice they get from their economists and from international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank. Although dominant theories in development economics have an especially strong influence on poorer nations, which are particularly dependent on the policies of the World Bank and the IMF, these theories influence lives everywhere." (Martha C. Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The*

but so deeply criticized, that it began to be suggested that faith discourses of development could exert a positive influence on mainstream development discourse,[112] restoring the focus on relational and value-based aspects of development. Faith discourses have therefore recently demanded a more diverse approach to development than the dominant narrow economic focus.[113] However, in the decades after WWII a number of key faith-based development organisations subscribed to economic growth models,[114] alongside governments and institutional funders such as the World Bank. Why was this the case?

First, economic approaches offered a means of conceptualising, containing and objectifying the incredible scale of human need which, up to the late 1940s, had been similarly conceptualised, contained and objectified by the framework of colonial power.[115] Economic measurements, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP),[116] quantify global poverty in an accessible and easily digestible format, which appears to offer governments and funders objective guidance for decision-making. Economic growth became the main aim of development policy because it was the only measure that seemed possible or that allowed comparisons between

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Human Development Approach. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 2011, 46.)

[112] Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers, 'Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology and Development Studies.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 19; Deepa Narayan et al., *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for change.* Oxford University Press for the World Bank, Oxford, 2000, 222; Severine Deneulin and Carole Rakodi, 'Revisiting Religion: Development studies thirty years on.' *World Development,* 39:1, 2001, 48; Sabina Alkire, 'Religion and Development.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies.* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK and Northampton, MA, USA, 2006, 503; Philip Fountain, 'The Myth of Religious NGOs: Development studies and the return of religion.' *International Development Policy,* Special Edition on Religion and Development, The Graduate Institute, Geneva, 2012, 10.

[113] Ibid.

[114] The World Council of Churches was one of the faith organisations that subscribed for many years to economic growth models of development. (Richard D.N. Dickinson, 'Development.' Pamela H. Gruber, 'Interchurch Aid' in *The Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement.* Nicholas Lossky et al. (eds.), WCC Publications, Geneva and The Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland, London, 1991, 268.) Insight into the central place of economic theory within WCC thinking on development up to 1970 can be gleaned from the report of the World Conference on Church and Society, Geneva, 1966, which states that "The Churches should welcome economic growth because it helps to free men from unnecessary want and economic insecurity." (*The Ecumenical Movement: An anthology of key texts and voices.* Michael Kinnamon and Brian E. Cope (eds.), WCC Publications, Geneva and William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1997, 292.)

[115] Gunnar Myrdal, 'The Equality Issue in World Development.' *The American Economic Review,* 79:6, December 1989, 8-9.

[116] Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the market value of all goods and services produced within a particular country in a particular time-period. GDP per capita is often used as an indicator of a country's standard of living. ('The criteria for identifying least developed countries.' Development Policy and Analysis Division, the United Nations, https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp /ldc/ldc_definitions.shtml, updated August 2013. Viewed 10 November 2013.)

countries.[117] Second, "countries respond to public rankings that affect their international reputation… [so] work[ed] for economic growth alone."[118] The complexities of achieving a high quality of life for all citizens – through healthcare, education and other means of enhancing wellbeing and opportunity – were ignored in the drive to expand the economies of 'underdeveloped' countries. This single-minded pursuit of growth provided a clear path forward in a context in which governments, development theorists and practitioners would otherwise have been floundering to agree on how best to help poor nations emerging from decades of colonial rule.

The dominance of economic growth models of development can largely be attributed to modernisation theory. For a significant period in the latter half of the 20th century, it reigned as an unchallenged normative paradigm within orthodox Western development discourse.[119] Modernisation theory set out to "identify the conditions that had given rise to development in the First World, and specify where and why these were lacking in the Third World."[120] From this process arose the assumption that underdevelopment was an initial state out of which the West had progressed; therefore, all countries should follow the same trajectory in moving towards economic development.[121] Modernisation operated on the premise that development "represented a transition from tradition to modernity. This was to be achieved through copying at least some of the (perceived) characteristics of Western societies, such as the development of entrepreneurship and the borrowing of advanced technology."[122] This assumption became entrenched belief, largely through the policies adopted by the Bretton Woods institutions.[123] The IMF, particularly, expected newly independent economies to open up their markets[124] in

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[117] Robert and Edward Skidelsky, *How Much is Enough? The love of money, and the case for the good life.* Penguin, London, 2012, 182.
[118] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, ix.
[119] P.W. Preston, *Development Theory: An introduction.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1997, 235.
[120] John Rapley, *Globalisation and Inequality: Neoliberalism's downward spiral.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado and London, UK, 2004, 17.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ray Kiely, 'Modernisation Theory.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies.* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK and Northampton, MA, USA, 2006, 395.
[123] The Bretton Woods institutions, established at the Bretton Woods conference and operational from 1945 onwards, are the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which now forms part of the World Bank Group. (Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents.* Penguin, London, 2002, 11-12.)
[124] "The IMF was allowed to demand, as the price for further loans, government reforms to rectify the structural problems in the economy – in effect, the IMF was to be the world economy's conservative and parsimonious banker, slapping the wrists of governments that had been careless with their

the belief that this would promote economic growth – or, according to Joseph Stiglitz, in the belief that economic power needed to be maintained and increased within Western 'developed' nations, at the cost of more equitable and sustained growth within 'underdeveloped' countries.[125] Modernisation theory "underestimate[d] the extent to which some states exercise double standards, pressurizing developing countries to liberalize while they maintain protectionist policies at home."[126] Britain and the US have forced free-trade policies on countries that depend on IMF loans and assistance, having actively protected their own markets during the early years of their own economic development in the globalised environment.[127] In justifying free-trade policies, modernisation theory claimed that internal forces caused extreme and ongoing poverty in 'underdeveloped' countries, and that external forces – such as free trade – had nothing to do with the issue. If countries had the ability and the will to develop, open markets would allow them to do so. Failure to develop was blamed upon an internal lack of "certain ingredients – or change agents – that had propelled the process of modernization forward in the West."[128] Orthodox economic thought and practice, underpinned by modernisation theory, placed the expectation of rapid development and growth on poor countries, without either allowing the market protections they required to be able to do so, or allowing countries to take their own decisions as to whether economic growth would bring them the greatest benefits.

Modernisation not only contained inherent assumptions about the benefits of capitalist growth for developing economies, but also propounded the secular idea that as societies modernise, the influence of religion wanes,[129] allowing an

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checkbooks." (John Rapley, *Globalization and Inequality: Neoliberalism's downward spiral.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado and London, UK, 2004, 6.)

[125] "The IMF is a *public* institution, established with money provided by taxpayers around the world. This is important to remember because it does not report directly to either the citizens who finance it or those whose lives it affects. Rather, it reports to the ministries of finance and the central banks of the governments of the world. They assert their control through a complicated voting arrangement based largely on the economic power of the countries at the end of World War II. There have been some minor adjustments since, but the major developed countries run the show, with only one country, the United States, having effective veto." (Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents.* Penguin, London, 2002, 12.)

[126] Ray Kiely, 'Modernisation Theory.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies.* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK and Northampton, MA, USA, 2006, 398.

[127] Ha-Joon Chang and Ilene Grabel, *Reclaiming Development: An alternative economic policy manual.* Zed Books, London and New York, 2004, 10.

[128] Alastair Greig, David Hulme and Mark Turner, *Challenging Global Inequality: Development theory and practice in the 21st century.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, 78.

[129] Peter Berger has articulated the central thesis of secularisation theory as the belief that "modernisation necessarily leads to a decline of religion, both in society and in the minds of

enlightened worldview to open the door for economic development within a rational society. "The death of cows in a rural village is no longer attributed to an old widow perceived by the community as a witch, but is explained through the presence of some micro-organisms causing animal diseases. Thus, when societies undergo a process of modernization and rationalization, it is believed that they also undergo a process of secularization."[130] Modernisation theory left no space for the possibility that traditional beliefs could co-exist alongside the emergence of more rational, urban and globalised societies, because it was perceived that this was not what had happened within Western, 'developed' nations. Modernisation theorists largely refused to accept that development could happen in different ways in different parts of the world, or that there was any alternative path to development than the template set down by the West.[131] Critics of the entrenched belief in modernisation through unbridled capitalist growth include Tomas Sedlacek, who claims that the pursuit of growth for its own sake has eclipsed any ethics or values that question this approach or provide alternative models.[132] Joseph Stiglitz goes further, claiming that the system of global economic growth based on free trade is, on the part of wealthy countries, inherently self-serving and hypocritical.[133]

Calls for alternative visions of development were made as early as 1962, when Acting UN General Secretary U Thant stated in his *Proposals for Action* for the UN Development Decade that: "Development is not just economic growth, it is growth plus change."[134] In 1967, Pope Paul VI declared in his Papal Encyclical, *Populorum Progressio,* that: "We cannot allow economics to be separated from human realities, nor development from the civilization in which it takes place. What counts for us is man – each individual man, each human group, and humanity as a whole."[135] In 1975, prominent economist Gunnar Myrdal used his Nobel Memorial Lecture to acknowledge that his profession should accept some responsibility for restricting

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individuals." (Peter Berger, 'The Desecularisation of the World: A Global Overview.' *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent religion and world politics.* Peter L. Berger (ed), Ethics and Public Policy Centre, Washington DC, 1999, 2.)

[130] Severine Deneulin with Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the secular script.* Zed Books, London and New York, 2009, 53.

[131] John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and practice in the Third World.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, 2007, 17.

[132] Tomas Sedlacek, *Economics of Good and Evil: The quest for economic meaning from Gilgamesh to Wall Street.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, 233-235.

[133] Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents.* Penguin, London, 2002, 6.

[134] U Thant, Foreword to 'The United Nations Development Decade: Proposals for action.' Report of the General Secretary, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. United Nations, New York, 1962, v.

[135] Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio: Encyclical of Pope Paul VI on the development of peoples.* March 26, 1967. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/ encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum _en.html. Viewed 18 August 2013, pt. 14.

the concept of development to the attainment of the "rather spurious concept" of 'growth'.[136] More recently, in 2000, the final report of the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* survey suggested there is a case for development to be pushed beyond the boundaries of economic growth.[137] *Voices of the Poor* has been cited as a wake-up call for the institutions that imposed the Washington Consensus: not just to the destructive nature of their policies – that had been established more than a decade earlier – but to the failure of 'value free' economic development to connect with, and to transform, the lives of those they had been set up to help.[138] In the year *Voices of the Poor* was published, Mark A. Lutz called for a more socially responsible vision to displace economic efficiency as the dominant discourse. He asked: "How much longer can the social fabric tolerate the doctrines and medicines of an economic orthodoxy that appears inept at coming to grips with the socioeconomic problems people contend with every day?"[139] Development is not a value-free process, which can be conducted upon purely objective, economic lines. Societies cannot be differentiated in the manner dictated by modernisation theory, with the economic, political, social, cultural, family and religious spheres all operating independently, without reference to one another.[140] Acknowledgement that such thinking can no longer dominate development has been slow in coming, but there are signs that significant shifts are occurring within a number of key institutions.

Over the past decade, the World Bank and IMF have both moved toward the 'post-Washington Consensus' model. They now recognise that state action, alongside market forces, is needed to ensure that economic reforms are properly 'owned' by those countries in which they are instituted.[141] Part of this new consensus has been

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[136] Gunnar Myrdal, 'The Equality Issue in World Development.' *The American Economic Review,* 79:6, December 1989, 14.
[137] "Many participants feel that economic opportunities have bypassed them… Proper macroeconomic policies and programmes are clearly essential, but stronger links are required to the micro level where poor people live and work." (Deepa Narayan et al, *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for change.* Oxford University Press for the World Bank, Oxford, 2000, 267.)
[138] Severine Deneulin and Carole Rakodi, 'Revisiting Religion: Development studies thirty years on.' *World Development,* 39:1, 2001, 48; John Hariss, 'Bringing Politics Back into Poverty Analysis: Why understanding social relations matters more for policy on chronic poverty than measurement.' CPRC Working Paper 77, May 2007, 1. http://www.chronicpoverty.org/publications/ details/bringing-politics-back-into-poverty-analysis-why-understanding-social-relations-matters-more-for-policy-on-chronic-poverty-than1/ss. Viewed 7 July 2013.
[139] Mark A. Lutz, *Economics for the Common Good: Two centuries of social economic thought in the humanistic tradition.* Routledge, London and New York, 1999, 2.
[140] Severine Deneulin with Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the secular script.* Zed Books, London and New York, 2009, 56.
[141] Alastair Greig, David Hulme and Mark Turner, *Challenging Global Inequality: Development theory and practice in the 21st century.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, 122.

greater engagement with faith organisations, a move inspired in part by the findings of *Voices of the Poor.*[142] In 2004, then President of the World Bank James Wolfensohn wrote: "The engagement of faith communities in the fight against poverty is vital to success in achieving the Millennium Development Goals."[143] Tracing a similar trajectory, the UK government's Department for International Development (DFID) has, since 1997, been actively engaged with a range of non-government groups, including faith-based development organisations. In 2004, DFID commissioned a study into its work with faith-based groups;[144] and in 2011 it convened a high-level conference bringing together DFID officials with key stakeholders from faith-based organisations, secular NGOs and academia to share knowledge and discuss the possibilities for future co-operation.[145] In 2012, DFID launched its *Faith Partnership Principles* document, which acknowledged that: "In many countries, and for many people, faith and religion are central to development."[146] These moves by the World Bank and DFID are at least in part a response to criticism from economists,[147] development practitioners,[148] and religious leaders[149] alike. They argue that development discourse and practice must

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[142] Other important moves by the World Bank on this issue include the establishment of the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) in 1998 by James Wolfensohn, then President of the World Bank, and George Carey, then Archbishop of Canterbury. (Katherine Marshall and Marisa Van Saanen, *Development and Faith: Where mind, heart and soul work together.* The World Bank, Washington, 2007, 8.) There was, according to one observer, considerable skepticism within the Bank regarding the initiative, leading to frequent criticism of Wolfensohn's involvement in its establishment. (Wendy Tyndale, 'Religions and the Millennium Development Goals: Whose Agenda?' *Religions and Development: Ways of transforming the world.* Gerrie Ter Haar (ed.), Hurst and Co, London, 2011, 208.)

[143] James Wolfensohn, 'Foreword.' Katherine Marshall and Lucy Keough, *Mind, Heart and Soul in the Fight Against Poverty.* The World Bank, Washington, 2004, xii.

[144] Tamsin Bradley, 'Does Compassion Bring Results? A critical perspective on faith and development.' *Culture and Religion,* 6:3, 2005, 339.

[145] Wilton Park Conference Report, 'Religion, Change and Development.' Monday 24 – Wednesday 26 October 2011. www.wiltonpark.org.uk/en/reports/?view=Report&id=705277282. Viewed 27 February 2012, 4.

[146] Department for International Development (UK Aid), 'Faith Partnership Principles: Working effectively with faith groups to fight global poverty.' https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data /file/67352/faith-partnership-principles.pdf. Viewed 23 August 2014, 2.

[147] John Rapley wrote in 2004 that "neoliberal policies have had the effect of raising aggregate income but skewing its distribution, thereby causing a rise in political instability and volatility, which, in turn, is undermining the viability of the neoliberal regime." (John Rapley, *Globalisation and Inequality: Neoliberalism's downward spiral.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado and London, 2004, 6.)

[148] Robert Chambers wrote in 1997 that "theories of universal economic growth as a unilinear means to a better life are no longer tenable. As economic growth ceases to be a simple, universal objective, as it is recognized as environmentally harmful among the richer, and as economic resources are recognized as finite, so it matters more to seek responsible well-being and quality of life through more sustainable means." (Robert Chambers, *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the first last.* Practical Action, Rugby, UK, 1997, 189.)

[149] Rowan Williams has claimed that development has "notoriously been associated with one particular sort of global narrative, allied to the hope of unrestricted economic growth. And given the mixture of factors in our contemporary world that suggest this is a dangerously naïve hope, we ought to be qualifying our language about development so as to free it from any such automatic alliance." (Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion.' A speech delivered on 12 November 2009.

now move on from rigid economic growth models, in favour of more inclusive approaches.

Modernisation was, for many years, central to development discourse. It took the role of a core value, shaping the development process around a deeply inequitable power dynamic.[150] Now that the role of modernisation in development is being questioned, the values central to development can be re-calibrated and re-articulated within a very different context. This context is one in which not only economic growth models are being questioned, but the whole premise of value-free development, which has been underpinned by modernisation theory, is being interrogated and found wanting. As development as a modern, secular project is called into question, it becomes increasingly likely that faith will play a significant role in reforming development's values.

3.3. Secularisation and its Impact on Development

Despite the domination of development discourse by theories of economic growth and modernisation, religion has refused to be silenced, or to be contained within the private sphere, as secularisation theorists expected would be the case.[151] Following the dictates of modernisation, early secularisationists suggested their theory would apply to all societies – a trajectory which would be followed regardless of cultural difference. Bryan Wilson was the first, in the 1960s, to frame this all-encompassing 'classic' secularisation theory, characterising it as "a process by which religious institutions, actions and consciousness lose their social significance."[152] Wilson established the decline in the social significance of religion as the cornerstone of secularisation theory, and this guided the thinking on secularisation which followed.

However, secularisation theory, like the modernisation theory which underpinned it, began to unravel. It was noted that the effects of secularisation could only be observed in the modern, industrial West, and that it was not, in fact, a universally

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http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012, 6.)

[150] M.P. Cowen and R.W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development.* Routledge, London and New York, 1996, 446.

[151] Bryan Wilson, in 1982, asserted that "Contemporary societies function with little recourse to religion as a social institution." (Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982, 45.)

[152] Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society.* C.A. Watts, London, 1966, xiv.

applicable theory.[153] Jose Casanova went so far as to suggest that secularisation was a self-fulfilling prophecy of the European enlightenment, rather than the natural progression many theorists were suggesting was the case.[154] Rather than an inevitable adaptive process of human belief and the human state of being, secularisation began to be considered a construct of certain societies, based on the progression of *that society,* rather than of humankind as a whole. Claims began to be made in the 1980s that the secular paradigm of development was also failing to speak to poor people, whose religious beliefs remained central to how they understood their reality, and whose concept of the self was deeply embedded within the idea of relationship (in contrast to the primacy given by secular discourses to the individual).[155] In many parts of the 'underdeveloped' world, claimed van Kessel and Droogers, "religion is not losing its influence; on the contrary, it has become more prominent. Due to [the] European – North-American bias [of secular development theory], the models [of development used] are not designed to deal with this apparent contradiction."[156]

Criticism of secularisation theory as a whole, beyond the scope of development, echoed throughout the 1990s, culminating in Peter Berger's 1999 recanting of his contribution to the secular school of thought. He asserted that the world "is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever."[157] Although many supported Berger's position, a number of secularisationists contested his claim. Steve Bruce asserted that he could not understand why high levels of religious adherence in developing countries had influenced Berger's view of secularisation. According to Bruce, the retreat of religion to the private sphere depended on the state becoming neutral on matters of faith – a situation that he

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[153] John Milbank articulated this critique by claiming that modernisation and secularisation were "really only exemplified in the case of the West. One has to make two moves to avoid the obvious conclusion that 'rationalisation' is just one event in Western history that happens to have swamped the world, rather than an always latent phenomenon." (John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond secular reason.* Blackwell, Malden, USA and Oxford, UK, 2006, 94.)

[154] Jose Casanova, 'Immigration and the New Religious Pluralism: A European Union/United States Comparison.' *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism.* Thomas Blanchoff (ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, 63.

[155] "Individualism threatened the communal basis of religious belief and behaviour, while rationality removed many of the purposes of religion and rendered many of its beliefs implausible." Steve Bruce, *Religion in the Modern World: From Cathedrals to Cults.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, 230.

[156] Joop van Kessel and Andre Droogers, 'Secular Views and Sacred Vision: Sociology of Development and the Significance of Religion in Latin America.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 53.

[157] Peter Berger, 'The Desecularisation of the World: A global overview.' *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent religion and world politics.* Peter L. Berger (ed), Ethics and Public Policy Centre, Washington DC, 1999, 2.

believed was only realistic in western democracies.[158] Bruce denied the modernisation paradigm that claimed all societies would follow the trajectory of the West. Instead, he believed that secularisation was applicable and relevant only in economically developed, democratic countries – and that the religious adherence observable in many parts of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America did not prove that the secularisation thesis was not tenable under particular circumstances.

The argument that secularisation is not applicable outside the boundaries of the "north Atlantic"[159] is problematic for both the secular paradigm of development, and the modernisation theory upon which it was originally based. Development theorists, and large numbers of practitioners working in 'underdeveloped' countries, have for decades eschewed relationship with religion on the grounds that religious belief is – or will soon become – an irrelevant phenomenon in all societies, banished to the private sphere by the spread of a rational worldview. The persistence of religious belief in poor communities across the world leaves development facing the quandary of how to work in a meaningful relationship with people of faith. Following interviews with thousands of people living in poor communities in scores of countries,[160] the *Voices of the Poor* project report concluded: "Spirituality, faith in God and connecting to the sacred in nature are an integral part of poor people's lives in many parts of the world."[161] Faith-based organisations and local religious institutions were frequently cited in the report as playing an important role in the lives of poor communities. They were highly valued for the assistance they provided in times of trouble – though, in some instances, became a divisive force where they were seen as partisan and offering help on the basis of religious affiliation.[162] The *Voices of the Poor* project report concluded, "Despite the global efforts to create institutions that serve the poor, many of these institutions created by outsiders – whether from the state, civil society, the private sector, or international organizations – often do not have the

[158] Steve Bruce, 'The Curious Case of Unnecessary Recanting: Berger and secularization.' *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion.* Linda Woodhead with Paul Heelas and David Martin (eds.), Routledge, London and New York, 2001, 92.
[159] Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2007, 1.
[160] Deepa Narayan et al, *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for change.* Oxford University Press for the World Bank, Oxford, 2000, 1.
[161] Ibid, 222.
[162] Ibid.

character poor people value."[163] Religious organisations and institutions come closer to embodying this 'character' than either government institutions or NGOs, but they are still failing to properly fulfil the needs of poor people and communities in terms of inclusion, consultation and transparency. Religion is, in many societies and cultures, intimately connected with power and vested interests.[164] Development is now faced with the significant challenge of how to engage meaningfully with people of faith, and with the power structures inherent within the religious institutions that are so integral to the lives of poor communities.

Central to the tension between the worldview of institutional donors and the worldview of many poor communities, uncovered by *Voices of the Poor,* is the relative importance placed upon the individual and the community within society. Secular worldviews place greatest emphasis upon the individual and upon individual agency as the key social unit; whereas the majority of views recorded by *Voices of the Poor* saw the community as the core element of society. Rowan Williams has criticised the secular view by pointing out that the only rationale for innate human dignity and flourishing which "does not collapse is the belief that this dignity is specified and required by the relation in which every human being stands to its maker."[165] For secularism to escape the circularity inherent in the idea that human flourishing is the ultimate goal of all humans, relationship to a non-human power is necessary. This provides a key reference point through which human relationships can then be fully understood.

The individualism which is deeply embedded in modernist, secularist thought – and therefore in the secular development discourse[166] – is at odds with the views of Christian thinkers, for whom human relationships remain central to the understanding of our relationship with God, even in the context of Western society. "Central to what Christian theology sets before us is mutuality. The Christian Scriptures describe the union of those who are identified with Jesus Christ as

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[163] Ibid, 194.
[164] Hans Tennekes, 'Religion and Power: Modernization processes in Dutch Protestantism.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 35.
[165] Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square.* Bloomsbury, London, 2012, 122.
[166] "The language of faith, the religious idiom, frequently better reflects the cultural norms in which the poor and marginalised operate. They are better able to draw such individuals and communities into global discourses of social justice, rights and development, without recourse to the often distancing language of secular development discourse." (Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, 'Introduction.' *Development, Civil Society and Faith-based Organisations.* Gerard Clarke, Michael Jennings and T. Shaw (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, 15.)

having… a common identity shaped by the fact that each depends on all others for their life."[167] Secularists view the individual as the primary social agent, and human effort as the only means by which humans can flourish. This denies the Christian understanding that to be human is to be in relationship with one another and that this fundamental relationship is informed by our relationship with God – within which context humans are then able to flourish. Secularisation is, in many ways, a debate about what it means to be human. Can a secular humanism be supported, or does this understanding of ourselves collapse in circularity? Are we defined as individuals, or can the human state only be understood through living in community with one another? In many modern, Western societies the former belief reigns supreme; but in almost all other parts of the world, the latter belief is predominant. The secular development project, with its basis in 'universal' values, the language of rights, and the freedom of the individual to achieve his or her desired aims in life, does not, therefore, connect with poor communities in developing countries – those people it is most intended to engage with and serve. It is this failure that is at the heart of the criticism it has received.

3.4. CONCLUSION

This section has traced the historical progression of the normative secular paradigm of development, which has been dominated by economic growth models born out of modernisation theory. Since Truman introduced the concept of nations as 'developed' or 'underdeveloped' in his inaugural speech, there has been a power imbalance at the heart of the normative development paradigm. Free-market capitalism and democracy were presumed to be necessary conditions under which economies would thrive; and these conditions were imposed upon newly independent countries emerging from generations of colonial rule. Modernisation theory dictated that a single path towards prosperity, via open markets, was the only one that made a successful outcome possible; and in the process, the values and relational aspects of development, which had been central to poor communities and faith-based development practitioners alike, were dispensed with as unnecessary – even dangerous, considering the biases they could engender.

However, some significant shifts in thinking over the past 20 years have called into question a paradigm that has reigned supreme for decades. *Voices of the Poor*

[167] Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square.* Bloomsbury, London, 2012, 229.

highlighted the disparity between the needs and desires of poor communities, and the means by which international institutions were seeking to meet them. The discovery that faith organisations and institutions often have a 'character' poor communities can identify with and trust has brought faith-based development back into the discourse.

Faith-based development has been deeply influenced by the trajectory of secular development traced in this section. Being accepted as normative, economic growth models of development were for many years a minimum standard to which development agencies – including many faith-based organisations – adhered. Faith-based development has for many years been judged by the measures of secular development discourse and praxis; and frequently felt constrained and marginalised as a result. The long period of division between the discourses of secular and faith development is coming to an end, but a new paradigm that garners the best elements of each is yet to emerge.

4. FAITH DISCOURSES OF DEVELOPMENT

Since the end of WWII, faith-based development has been compared and contrasted with secular development, and has often been found wanting. As a result, many faith development practitioners allowed their work to be influenced by the secular paradigm. Although secular development practitioners have tended to ignore or dismiss faith discourse and praxis, a number of scholars and practitioners claim to have traced the influence of faith on secular development. The two separate paths of faith and secular development have not therefore been rigidly demarcated and cannot be treated as a straightforward dichotomy.

This section traces faith-based development as it travelled parallel to the path of secular development already outlined in Section 3. It suggests that many of the ideas, values and practices enshrined within faith-based (specifically, Christian) development discourse and praxis from its earliest days may still hold true across both faith and secular development today.

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the dominance of the secular development paradigm throughout the latter half of the 20th century, a number of scholars have argued that religious conviction has had a discernable influence on development theory. Religious anthropologist Mary Douglas claimed that the central characteristic of all religions is the belief in a relationship between humanity and the transcendent. Douglas argued that the 'transcendent' could refer to the spiritual, the moral, or even the bureaucratic realm.[168] Van Ufford and Schoffeleers built on Douglas' claim, suggesting that the relationship between humanity and the transcendent could be applied to development, as "it, too, implies a belief in the existence of two worlds, referred to as 'developed' and 'developing' respectively, of which the former is superior to and normative for the latter."[169] In this conception, development experts are "the 'priests' who mediate between the two worlds."[170] Van Ufford and Schoffeleers highlighted the fact that the secular development project had drawn upon religious dynamics in its formulation as a higher normative standard to which the 'developing' world should subscribe, and claimed the zeal with which this normativity was imposed upon the rest of the world was the "religious surplus value" of development.[171] Peter Berger took a slightly different angle, conceptualising development as redemption for poor communities. "For those living on the most precarious margins of existence, development is not just a matter of improved material conditions; it is at least *also* a vision of redemptive transformation."[172] From either viewpoint, development can be understood as having religious aspects. More recently, Jenny Lunn has claimed, "The whole field [of development] actually has clear religious – specifically Christian – roots and concepts which are essential to its vision and practice."[173] Religion has, then,

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[168] Mary Douglas, 'The Effects of Modernisation on Religious Change.' *Daedalus,* 111:1, Winter 1982, 10.
[169] Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers, 'Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology and Development Studies.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 19.
[170] Ibid. Van Ufford and Schoffeleers attribute this idea to Peter L. Berger, who wrote that "development has… become a focus of redemptive aspirations for some people in the rich countries of the West, particularly among intellectuals and the young. There is here a certain vicariousness in the expectations of redemption, a kind of 'zionism' with regard to the struggles of Third World societies." (Peter L. Berger, *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political ethics and social change.* Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976, 33.)
[171] Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers, 'Towards a Rapprochement of Anthropology and Development Studies.' *Religion and Development: Towards an integrated approach.* Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Shoffeleers (eds.), Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1988, 19.
[172] Peter L. Berger, *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political ethics and social change.* Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976, 33.
[173] Jenny Lunn, "The Role of Religion, Spirituality and Faith in Development: A critical theory approach." *Third World Quarterly,* 30:5, 2009, 940.

retained some elements of its original role as a frame of reference for development practitioners in the West.

It is in this context, of deep tensions yet discernible influence between faith-based and secular development discourse and practice, that significant development work has been carried out by some of the most prominent Christian denominations and bodies in the world. The World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Catholic Church, in particular, have manifest the biblical imperative to uphold the dignity and worth of all people through long-term development projects in thousands of poor communities across the globe. They have thereby demonstrated that the dominant secular discourse of development is not necessarily accepted wholesale as normative – that there are other ways of doing development. This section will examine faith discourses of development, looking at historical contexts and setting the foundation for a deeper exploration in Chapter Two of how these discourses influence the work of Christian Aid today.

4.2. THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The WCC was conceived, founded and operated for much of its early life in the shadow of war. Archbishop Nathan Soderblom of Sweden was one of the earliest and best-known champions of the ecumenical movement; he made his first public reference to the formation of a worldwide council of churches in April 1919.[174] He wanted to bring together the churches of those countries which had fought in World War One (WWI) "to render witness to their common Lord."[175] Despite Soderblom's enthusiasm, the WCC did not come together for its inaugural assembly for another 30 years after both he and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople began calling for a united body of churches.[176] Helping people left homeless and destitute in the aftermath of WWII offered this new Council of Churches a vital opportunity to demonstrate its worth. "The effect of the ecumenical movement's first action in international affairs was that it attached significance not to church

[174] W.A. Visser 't Hooft, *The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches.* The World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1987, 12.
[175] Ibid.
[176] In Uppsala, 1920, Metropolitan Germanos said "Already before the World War, and even so much more after the war, Christians here and there in the Christian world had come to the deep insight that Christendom would lose most of its own authority as long as the Christian churches continued to deal with the questions of common interest for the whole of Christendom in a spirit of disunity and quarrel. The deep acknowledgement of this has, in many ways, given itself expression in an endeavor towards unity, both in dogmatic questions and in questions of a practical nature." (W.A. Visser 't Hooft, *The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches.* The World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1987, 7.)

unity itself but to unified Christian action to relieve suffering in the world for the love of Christ. Thus the primary imprint of the ecumenical movement on world affairs was one of service to man."[177] In this way the WCC established on a global scale a pattern that has existed since early Christian times: communities turning to the church in times of distress.

When the WCC was founded, a document was released which stated that: "The new organization which is proposed shall have no power to legislate for the churches or to commit them to action without their consent; but if it is to be effective, it must deserve and win the respect of the churches in such measure that the people of greatest influence in the life of the churches may be willing to give time and thought to its work."[178] This statement was, perhaps, designed to reassure those churches which believed they would forego some measure of autonomy by joining the new global ecumenical body; but in fact adherence to this commitment meant that although the WCC claimed to represent the churches, none of the member churches were ready to accept responsibility for the activities carried out by the WCC on their behalf. Still today, the WCC is perceived as a paradox: it is a body bringing together churches under a single name without instituting either guiding theology or directive policy for its members. Questions continue to be asked as to whether the WCC can claim to exert any influence if its very existence makes no difference to the ecclesial sovereignty of its member churches.[179]

The WCC has therefore failed to popularise the somewhat paradoxical notion of an institution celebrating and operating as unity in diversity. However, it has succeeded in one key area: unity in action. The early work of the WCC, through the post-war relief fund called Christian Reconstruction in Europe (later Inter-Church Aid), achieved an enormous amount in a relatively short time. Estimates of how many post-war European refugees were assisted by the WCC vary, but in 1954 Bishop George Bell reported that more than 100,000 people had been aided in finding new homes outside Europe.[180] Although this work continued well into the decade after the war, the WCC decided in 1949 to extend its remit beyond Europe

[177] Darril Hudson, *The World Council of Churches in International Affairs.* Published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Faith Press, Leighton Buzzard, UK, 1977, 24.
[178] W.A. Visser 't Hooft, *The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches.* The World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1987, 40.
[179] John S. Nurser, *For All Peoples and Nations: The ecumenical church and human rights.* Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 2005, 126.
[180] G.K.A. Bell, *The Kingship of Christ: The story of the World Council of Churches.* Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1954, 115.

to other parts of the world as well – in particular, those countries emerging from colonial rule.[181] At the same time, the international assistance arm of the WCC changed its name from 'Christian Reconstruction in Europe', denoting a body that served a particular need in a particular geographical sphere, to 'Inter-Church Aid', giving it a much broader scope and a more permanent future.

Inter-Church Aid quickly became the WCC's largest department. By the mid-1960s it had a budget – raised by the national committees of Inter-Church Aid in the UK and elsewhere – "roughly fifty percent more than the entire general budget of the World Council."[182] One person in every four on the WCC's headquarters staff was working for Inter-Church Aid, and a further 200 were in post around the world.[183] Supporting the work of the division were councils and committees in the UK, the US, Denmark, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere.[184] The achievements of some of these supporting organisations were incredible. The British Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service (later to become Christian Aid), for example, launched a 'Million Pound Fund' in 1946, raising this sum at a time when the people contributing were themselves enduring severe rationing and working to rebuild their country.[185] From the beginning, the partnerships between the WCC, its supporting agencies in 'developed' countries, and the organisations implementing projects on the ground (many of them churches) were, and still are, a vital element of the co-operative way in which the WCC delivered relief. The swift mobilisation of organisations in countries such as the UK is testament to the level of commitment the WCC was able to inspire. The relative ease with which churches could work in partnership through Inter-Church Aid meant that the department quickly became a high-profile symbol of and mechanism for unity.

From its earliest days, the WCC's relief operations were driven by a belief in the inherent dignity of all humans, made in the image of God. Fired by this belief, the WCC expanded its understanding of how aid should be delivered: from churches providing financial assistance to poor communities of the same denomination; to joint action between local churches in Christian solidarity with poor communities;

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[181] David P. Gaines, *The World Council of Churches: A study of its background and history.* Richard R. Smith and Co., Peterborough, New Hampshire, 1966, 521.
[182] Geoffrey Murray, 'Joint Service as an Instrument of Renewal.' *The Ecumenical Advance: A history of the ecumenical movement Volume 2, 1948 – 1968.* E. Fey (ed.), The World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1970, 201.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid, 206.
[185] Ibid, 207.

and, finally, to "common Christian stewardship towards the human family in assistance to people in need wherever they are, whoever they are."[186] This final clause is a particularly important element of the WCC's ecumenical understanding of development – no matter who was in need, assistance would be offered by the ecumenical agencies. In the immediate post-WWII period this, controversially, included the people of Germany. At a time when allied countries were refusing to provide funds for the care, rehousing and rehabilitation of Germany's shattered people, churches across Europe came together to demonstrate their belief that all people are made in the image of God.[187]

The WCC was careful to offer assistance in "a spirit of mutuality,"[188] rather than the colonial patronage that had been the norm up to WWII. "No church was to think of itself as only receiving or giving. Regardless of economic ability, all gave and all received."[189] Lesslie Newbigin, one of the original architects of the WCC and for a time the head of the International Missionary Council (IMC), was a strong advocate of this attitude. He warned that: "If we are thinking all the time of the things and skills that 'we' have and 'they' haven't, and if we conceive Inter-Church Aid exclusively in these terms, we shall very quickly… get into a new sort of colonialism."[190] Giving and receiving are acts imbued with inescapable roles – the former of the powerful, the latter of the powerless. The WCC's insistence upon 'mutuality' as an essential component of all relationships did not prevent churches becoming "locked into positions of donor and receiver in the project business."[191] In an interview in 1984, Huibert Van Beek, Executive Secretary in the WCC's Office of Church and Ecumenical Relations, stated that: "We need to rediscover two major

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[186] Pamela H. Gruber, 'Inter-Church Aid.' *The Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement.* Nicholas Lossky et al. (eds.), WCC Publications, Geneva and Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland, London, 1991, 517.

[187] Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:02:06 – 0:04:50. "Douglas Lister… He was in the British Army and he was in Germany in 1947 and it was very – a terribly cold winter and somebody took him to this huge hangar full of all these thousands of refugees who were basically freezing and starving and German, you know, displaced Germans… He approached the British High Command and the British High Command said we mustn't do this, it would be fraternising with the enemy. So he was talking to his Commanding Officer who was a Captain in the British Army and became better known later as Earl Spencer, Princess Diana's father, and he said the High Command are wrong in this, we must fight the High Command. So they appealed to the Chaplaincies across the services, and they appealed to the British Churches… And that's how the Church World Refugee Service was founded." Also Alison Shaw, 'Reverend Douglas Lister: Minister and humanitarian.' *The Herald Scotland,* 8 April 2010, http://www.heraldscotland.com/comment/obituaries /reverend-douglas-lister-minister-and-humanitarian-1.1019324. Viewed 11 November 2013.

[188] David P. Gaines, *The World Council of Churches: A study of its background and history.* Richard R. Smith and Co., Peterborough, New Hampshire, 1966, 878.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Lesslie Newbigin, *Unfinished Agenda: An autobiography.* SPCK, London, 1985, 178.

[191] Huibert van Beek, in an interview with Jean Stromberg, 'Towards a New System of Sharing.' *International Review of Mission,* 73, 1984, 216.

values: the spirituality of our sharing and the sense of justice."[192] Donor churches' failure to rediscover the spirituality of sharing meant that developed countries continued to operate "in some sense alienated from the developing countries. It is this aspect of alienation, theologically related to sin, which is probably crucial to the whole debate."[193]

Debate raged on around the concepts of giving and receiving, and around the WCC's model of development. These debates were part of a necessary process of determining an ecumenical understanding of development; but the WCC laid itself open to criticism that it was constructing this understanding without sufficient representation from churches in the developing world. At an ecumenical consultation on development in Montreux, Switzerland, in 1970, calls were still being made – more than 20 years after the WCC began providing assistance to developing countries – for full and proper participation in such consultations by representatives from poor countries.[194] At this same ecumenical consultation, a representative from India, Samuel Parmar, came to the fore as a strong voice challenging the dominant economic growth models of development. Parmar suggested that an ecumenical understanding of development should be based around "three inter-related objectives: economic growth, self-reliance and social justice," the most important of these being justice.[195] This tripartite conception came to be fundamental to the WCC's ecumenical understanding of development. Parmar's influence signaled a turning point in the role played by representatives from developing countries in WCC decision-making and thinking. The WCC's models and theories of development were not always what poor communities wanted or needed, but Parmar had shown that the institution was willing to hear this criticism and change. As a result of Parmar's statements, the WCC Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) was created to co-ordinate a cohesive approach to development – "an approach which insisted on social justice

[192] Ibid.
[193] Charles Elliott, 'An Esoteric Critique of Cartigny.' *In Search of a Theology of Development: Papers from a consultation on theology and development.* SODEPAX, Switzerland, 1969, 17.
[194] "There is a continuing tendency on the part of donors to impose their thinking, methodology, values and standards on developing countries by the very process of aid-giving. They have a great power of unilateral action because of their wealth… Representatives from the Third World must be given a major role in the decision-making process at all levels. This is what ecumenical means." (Eugene C. Blake, 'Purpose of the Consultation.' *Fetters of Injustice: Report of an ecumenical consultation on development projects, 26 – 31 January 1970, Montreux, Switzerland.* Pamela H. Gruber (ed.), World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1970, 23.)
[195] C.I. Itty, 'Are We Yet Awake? The Development Debate within the Ecumenical Movement.' *The Ecumenical Review,* 26:1, January 1974, 8.

but initially remained optimistic about technical progress and economic growth."[196] This model allowed communities, and their preferences, values and aspirations, to influence the ways in which they engaged with development, helping to make the WCC more progressive than many other development organisations, both secular and faith-based.

Focusing most of its energy on development work enabled the WCC to maintain unity based on the pursuit of pragmatic goals. Differences in doctrine can be laid aside when offering assistance to the world's poorest communities, allowing churches to co-operate with relative ease. However, this emphasis on action has left the WCC open to the criticism that "it has acted first and tried to find a theological justification afterwards."[197] From the time of the earliest stirrings of international ecumenical co-operation, the lack of a theological basis for churches' development work has been a concern.[198] Lesslie Newbigin's articulation of this concern went further, stating that the existing writings on the subject were essentially divisive. They defended one tradition against others, rather than promoting a more unified perspective on the WCC's work.[199] One attempt to construct a theology of development was made by the Joint Committee on Society, Development and Peace, set up by the WCC and the Catholic Church. This experimental body, known as SODEPAX, convened in Switzerland in 1969 to discuss the issue.[200] The result was not an articulated theology, but a bibliography entitled *Towards a Theology of Development,* listing more than 2,000 titles on the subject.[201] It was perhaps the breadth of thinking already released into the public sphere from different denominational perspectives that meant consensus on an ecumenical theology of development was never reached. Development was considered too broad and diffuse a concept to be informed by a particular theology.

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[196] Michael Taylor, *Not Angels but Agencies: The ecumenical response to poverty – a primer.* SCM Press and WCC Publications, London and Geneva, 1995, 9.
[197] Darril Hudson, *The World Council of Churches in International Affairs.* Published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Faith Press, Leighton Buzzard, UK, 1977, 208.
[198] "Archbishop Soderblom and his colleagues believed that Christian unity could come about through Christian service to those in need, but many of the actions required justification in theological terms for those Christians primarily interested in preserving the *status quo;* this was especially so when action required defiance of public authorities." (Ibid, 28)
[199] Lesslie Newbigin, *Unfinished Agenda: An autobiography.* SPCK, London, 1985, 136.
[200] Darril Hudson, *The World Council of Churches in International Affairs.* Published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Faith Press, Leighton Buzzard, UK, 1977, 214.
[201] *Towards a Theology of International Development* was published by SODEPAX in 1970.

Stagnation and confusion resulted from the lack of consensus.[202] A gulf emerged between the WCC's development programmes and the lack of any consistent theology underpinning them. The questions being thrown up by the work on the ground – in particular, the question of whether development could be considered salvation – went unanswered in the extensive ongoing discussion and consultation.[203] Some commentators have suggested that a clear ecumenical theology of development has failed to emerge because of the assumption that "churches, irrespective of their confessional and situational background, share the same views [on development]."[204] This assertion leaves the WCC and its satellite agencies – including Christian Aid – open to the criticism that their development model is 'supra-cultural': it is a view of development as an inherent good, transcending all differences in belief among Christian denominations and across the wide variety of countries in which these agencies work. This perspective ignores the argument that the nature of development is relative and contingent. It also highlights the fact that the WCC has failed to forge a clear but inclusive theological path for its broad membership.

One of the reasons the WCC embraced development so enthusiastically was that it offered a departure from the beliefs and structures associated with colonialism – a system with which church missions were, during the immediate post-war period, seen to be closely allied.[205] Although the WCC's development-oriented approach was largely viewed as positive and constructive, some thought it had drawbacks. The most commonly noted was the WCC's marginalisation of mission approaches in addressing poverty and inequality. The WCC regarded mission as one function among many of the church. It was an attitude that alienated members of the IMC, who viewed mission as central to the church's identity.[206] It was this difference in opinion that prevented the IMC from being subsumed into the WCC for several

[202] Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Political Theology: Development or liberation?* SCM Press, London, 2007, 33.
[203] Ibid.
[204] C.I. Itty, 'Are We Yet Awake? The Development Debate within the Ecumenical Movement.' *The Ecumenical Review,* 26:1, January 1974, 15.
[205] Lesslie Newbigin admitted that "missions were still tied up with the psychology of colonialism. It was not surprising that the very idea of mission was being rejected by younger people in both older and younger churches, that the word 'missionary' was being dropped in favour of 'fraternal worker' and that inter-church aid under the umbrella of the World Council was seen as a very acceptable replacement for the discredited enterprise of missions." (Lesslie Newbigin, *Unfinished Agenda: An autobiography.* SPCK, London, 1985, 164.)
[206] Huibert Van Beek, in an interview with Jean Stromberg, 'Towards a New System of Sharing.' *International Review of Mission,* 73, 1984, 246.

decades.[207] The comparably vast sums of cash Inter-Church Aid began to invest in development projects in the 1950s were seen by some to risk the fragile independence of the 'younger churches' in many developing countries, bringing into play the giver-and-receiver relationship discussed earlier in this chapter. The short-term 'projects' of Inter-Church Aid could not, in the eyes of many, compare to the life-long immersion of missionaries in the communities they had been sent to serve; and the high-profile, Geneva-centric culture of the WCC was at odds with the low-profile, diffuse nature of the IMC's missionary work.[208] The theology of mission was left behind in the move towards development, but no theology of development was instituted in its place.

4.3. Catholic Social Teaching

In contrast with the diversity and, to some extent, confusion of ecumenical teaching on justice in our global society, Catholic Social Teaching (CST), as the Catholic Church's consistent engagement with the major social issues of the day, provides clarity and focus. The exploration of social issues in CST is the Church's expression of solidarity with, and respect and love for, the people of the world.[209] Forming a magisterium of documents dating back to 1891, CST has examined the divide between rich and poor, and reflected on the importance of Christ's love for all of humanity in bringing an end to inequality.

The Catholic Church has never been a member of the WCC and is not one of Christian Aid's 41 sponsoring churches, but numerous Catholic parishes around the UK participate in the Christian Aid Week house-to-house collection each year, raising significant funds for the organisation's international development projects. This indicates the strength of the call to visible unity – a call that began with local churches of all denominations in the UK raising funds for post-war reconstruction in Europe, and is still very much alive and embodied in Christian Aid today. A significant factor in this participation of the Catholic parishes is the similar understanding of justice underpinning both Christian Aid's theology of development and Catholic Social Teaching (CST). However, CST does not aim to provide the operational solutions to inequality which Christian Aid (and the organisation's Catholic equivalent, CAFOD) see as their particular remit. Instead,

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[207] Lesslie Newbigin, *Unfinished Agenda: An autobiography.* SPCK, London, 1985, 200.
[208] Ibid, 169.
[209] Austen Ivereigh, *Faithful Citizens: A practical guide to Catholic Social Teaching and community organising.* Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 2010, 3.

CST is "like a pair of glasses; look through them, and issues come into focus. The purpose of CST is to present the transcendental moral horizon people need to keep in view. It doesn't offer technical solutions, but guiding principles."[210] Guidance upon broad moral and social issues is offered throughout CST; but it is within the encyclicals dating from the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) onwards in which international development, and the issue of global injustice inherent within it, is considered more specifically.[211]

Convened between 1962 and 1965, Vatican II addressed the relationship between the Catholic Church and the issues of the modern era. It formed the first comprehensive response by the Catholic Church to Enlightenment ideas and ways of seeing the world.[212] This determination to grapple with the key issues of the day meant the scope of Papal Encyclicals became, in many ways, more relevant to the plight of the most vulnerable members of society.[213] In particular, *Populorum Progressio,* published in 1967, cemented human dignity at the centre of CST, by taking human development as its theme. Structural injustice was interrogated, including how free trade was fuelling disparities of wealth between nations;[214] and the themes of mutual responsibility and relational development, first discussed by Pope John XXIII and expanded within *Gaudium et spes,* featured prominently.[215] The idea of the integral development of man is proposed within *Populorum Progressio*:

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[210] Ibid, 19.

[211] Sabina Alkire has stated that "the Roman Catholic social teachings, in particular those since *Populorum Progressio,* articulate a faith-based view of development in which the contributions of spiritual disciplines and of ethical action to a person's 'vocation to human fulfilment' are addressed alongside contributions made by markets, public policy and poverty reduction." (Sabina Alkire, 'Religion and Development.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies,* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK, Northampton MA, USA, 2006, 503.)

[212] Austen Ivereigh, *Faithful Citizens: A practical guide to Catholic Social Teaching and community organising.* Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 2010, 164.

[213] "The enormity of the tasks of social justice [have] dwarfed in scale and complexity the problems addressed by Leo XIII in *Rerum novarum* (1891) and by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo anno* (1934)." (Russell Hittinger, 'Introduction to Modern Catholicism.' *The Teachings of Modern Roman Catholicism; On law, politics and human nature.* John Witte, Jr., and Frank S. Alexander (eds.), Columbia University Press, New York, 2007, 27.)

[214] "It is evident that the principle of free trade, by itself, is no longer adequate for regulating international agreements. It certainly can work when both parties are about equal economically; in such cases it stimulates progress and rewards effort. That is why industrially developed nations see an element of justice in this principle. But the case is different when the nations involved are far from equal. Market prices that are freely agreed upon can turn out to be most unfair. It must be avowed openly that, in this case, the fundamental tenet of liberalism (as it is called), as the norm for market dealings, is open to serious question." (Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio: Encyclical of Pope Paul VI on the development of peoples.* 26 March 1967. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum _en.html. Viewed 18 August 2013, pt. 58.)

[215] "Today it is more important for people to understand and appreciate that the social question ties all men together, in every part of the world… The hungry nations of the world cry out to the peoples blessed with abundance. And the Church, cut to the quick by this cry, asks each and every man to hear his brother's plea and answer it lovingly." (Ibid, Pt. 3)

this being the means by which rich and poor nations and peoples should work together to bring about just, equitable development in which the dignity of all is respected. Integral human development will, the encyclical declares, bring about peace. "When we fight poverty and oppose the unfair conditions of the present, we are not just promoting human well-being; we are also furthering man's spiritual and moral development, and hence we are benefiting the whole human race. For peace is not simply the absence of warfare, based on a precarious balance of power; it is fashioned by efforts directed day after day toward the establishment of the ordered universe willed by God, with a more perfect form of justice among men."[216] Development that promotes the dignity and worth of every person would benefit all peoples; would respond to the demands for justice beginning to be heard from the poorest nations; and, if achieved, would guarantee worldwide peace.[217]

On the 40th anniversary of *Populorum Progressio,* Pope Benedict XVI commemorated the work of Pope Paul VI and the Second Vatican Council by publishing his own encyclical on the same theme, *Caritas in Veritate.* Its detailed reflection on social and economic issues, and its consideration of integral human development within this context, reflects the approach taken in the original encyclical, but the ideas are developed in some different directions. Charity and justice are understood as two parts of a cohesive process of relieving the suffering of the oppressed and vulnerable.[218] They are considered alongside love and truth as part of an effective response to poverty and inequality.[219] Since Vatican II, charity had come to be considered a less effective response to poverty than justice, so Pope Benedict XVI worked hard to defend the value of charity and to

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[216] Ibid, pt. 76.

[217] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church,* 2005. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html. Viewed 18 February 2012, pt. 98.

[218] "Charity demands justice: recognition and respect for the legitimate rights of individuals and peoples. It strives to build the *earthly city* according to law and justice. On the other hand, charity transcends justice and completes it in the logic of giving and forgiving." (Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate,* 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_en.html. Viewed 1 November 2013, pt. 6.)

[219] "All people feel the interior impulse to love authentically: love and truth never abandon them completely, because these are the vocation planted by God in the heart and mind of every human person. The search for love and truth is purified and liberated by Jesus Christ from the impoverishment that our humanity brings to it, and he reveals to us in all its fullness the initiative of love and the plan for true life that God has prepared for us. In Christ, *charity in truth* becomes the Face of his Person, a vocation for us to love our brothers and sisters in the truth of his plan. Indeed, he himself is the Truth (cf. Jn 14:6)." (Ibid, pt. 1)

demonstrate its worth when "practiced in the light of truth."[220] Charity, he argues, is needed in order to complete justice; the two cannot be practised independently.

The three encyclicals – *Gaudium et spes, Populorum Progressio* and *Caritas in Veritate* – are by no means all those which address issues of human development. They do, however, mark decisive shifts in the Catholic Church's approach to issues of human wellbeing, equality and justice. These works do not seek to suggest concrete means of responding to poverty and injustice, but instead provide the moral reasoning needed to underpin such a pragmatic response. These and other works in the CST cannon make the dignity of the human person paramount – a consideration that informs all others. "The whole of the Church's social doctrine, in fact, develops from the principle that affirms the inviolable dignity of the human person."[221] Central to this understanding of dignity is the belief that all people are created in the image of God; and that "the relationship between God and man is reflected in the relational and social dimensions of human nature."[222] Addressing poverty and injustice cannot be an individual pursuit, or even something pursued through the isolated efforts of particular organisations or nations. It is, rather, as Pope John Paul II wrote on the 20th anniversary of *Populorum Progressio,* "an imperative which obliges *each and every* man and woman, as well as societies and nations."[223] Human relations are key to development, as CST and particularly Pope Paul VI's concept of integral human development, sets out. The wellbeing of one is directly related to the wellbeing of all. This is enshrined in the concept of solidarity,[224] and leaves no choice in terms of engagement – refusal to engage is a refusal of one's own humanity and the humanity of the other. Solidarity within human relations is not only central to how the Catholic Church understands development, but forms the common thread linking different Christian approaches to development.

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[220] Ibid.
[221] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church,* 2005. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html. Viewed 18 February, 2012, pt. 107.
[222] Ibid, pt. 110.
[223] Pope John Paul II, *Sollicitudo rei Socialis,* 1987. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_30121987_sollicitudo-rei-socialis_en.html. Viewed 1 November 2013, pt. 32.
[224] Solidarity is considered, alongside concepts such as the Common Good, Subsidiarity, and the Option for the Poor, as one of the central tenets of Catholic Social Teaching. Austen Ivereigh has defined solidarity as "highlight[ing] the interdependence of all human beings, and is a commitment to seeking the good of one's neighbour, especially the most vulnerable." (Austen Ivereigh, *Faithful Citizens: A practical guide to Catholic Social Teaching and community organising.* Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 2010, 167.)

4.4. CONCLUSION

Together, the discourses of development that have emerged from the WCC and the Catholic Church form a diverse Christian alternative to the narrative of secular development explored in Section 3 of this chapter. By tracing these histories of thought and action, it is possible to discern the major faith-oriented influences on Christian Aid. These faith influences exist in tension with those secular forces which, for a significant period after the year 2000, drove Christian Aid's development agenda. Christian Aid's current position draws upon the Christian concept of all people being made in the image of God – a concept common to the foundational understandings of justice articulated by the WCC and the Catholic Church.

Rowan Williams has reflected repeatedly on the power of this concept to show that a refusal to engage in the suffering of another person is to deny our own humanity.[225] All humans must be able to flourish, to offer their gifts to others in community. Any curtailment of an individual's capacity to do so curtails the capacity of all.[226] According to Williams, it is impossible for Christians to see poverty and inequality as issues outside their field of personal responsibility. To be a person who believes in God is to be a person who believes that God's image can be seen in the poorest and most powerless people in the world. It is therefore impossible for a Christian to ignore poverty without adversely affecting their relationship not only with his or her fellow humans, but also with God. Williams' view that poverty is a denigration of our ability as Christians to see the image of God in others speaks to both schools of thought examined in this section. Relationship, in particular mutual relationship of equals, is vital to the thinking laid out by the WCC and the Catholic Church on inequality. "Relationships of justice and love… form the fabric of society."[227] They enable us to become one in the Body of

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[225] Williams took this argument further when couching it in terms directly related to addressing poverty, saying "we are not trying to solve someone else's problem but to liberate ourselves from a toxic and unjust situation in which we, the prosperous, are less than human." Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion.' A speech delivered on 12 November 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012, 5.

[226] "The frustration of one member is the frustration of all – because then there is something that is not being properly given. Someone has not been granted the freedom to offer what only they can give to the whole… When another Christian is frustrated, held back from growing, Paul too is held back. We grow only together." Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust: An introduction to Christian belief.* Canterbury Press, Norwich, 2007, 106-7.

[227] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church,* 2005. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html. Viewed 18 February, 2012, pt. 43.

Christ by seeing in the other an opportunity to become fully human and to enter into relationship with God. Churches are in a unique position to work for equality and justice, not only because "it is nice to be nice to other people,"[228] but because they are working as God's hands and feet on earth. They bring to fruition the ideal of a community in which *all* humans can use and share their unique gifts, without the curtailments of poverty and inequality.

5. THE CAPABILITIES APPROACH, FAITH AND DEVELOPMENT

5.1. INTRODUCTION

One guiding framework for development, which both faith[229] and secular[230] discourses have laid claims on, is Amartya Sen's capabilities approach. By focusing upon what an individual can achieve in his or her particular context – ie their 'capabilities' – rather than measuring rates of development through gross national product, Sen's approach has come to be synonymous with 'human', rather than economic, development.[231] Fellow development thinkers have praised Sen for moving the discourse of development beyond economics to a more nuanced understanding of what is required for an individual, rather than a nation, to escape poverty.[232] Such nuance has recommended Sen's thinking to those working across the development spectrum, both secular and faith-based. The capabilities

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[228] Willem Visser 't Hooft in *The Ecumenical Movement: An anthology of key texts and voices.* Michael Kinnamon and Brian E. Cope (eds.), WCC Publications, Geneva and William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1997, 41.

[229] The capabilities approach has been the subject of a number of works by Sabina Alkire, a Christian theologian writing on development, including *Valuing Freedoms: Sen's capability approach and poverty reduction.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002. The capabilities approach has also been cited as a major influence in Christian Aid's explicit theology, in particular *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 3.

[230] Amartya Sen's capabilities approach is credited by the UN as a central influence in the formulation of the Human Development approach (encapsulated in the UN's Human Development reports), which focus on more complex measures than straightforward GDP calculations. ('Origins of the Human Development Approach.' *Human Development Reports.* United Nations Development Programme, http://hdr.undp.org/en/ humandev/origins/. Viewed 11 November 2013.) See also UNDP, 'The Human Development Index Revisited.' *Development: Critical concepts in the social sciences.* Stuart Corbridge (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, 2000, 54-77.

[231] Amartya Sen, 'Foreword' to Duncan Green, *From Poverty to Power: How active citizens and effective states can change the world.* Oxfam International, Oxford, 2008, xv.

[232] "In his highly influential book *Development as Freedom,* Amartya Sen returned the focus of scholars to the human individuals who were to benefit from the greater freedom that development was to bring. Raising incomes was one way to augment individual liberty, but there were others as well, and repressing those liberties in a blind quest to raise output was exposed as a Pyrrhic victory." (John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and practice in the Third World.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, 2007, 7.) See also David A. Clark, 'Capability Approach.' *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies.* David Alexander Clark (ed.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK and Northampton, M.A., 2006, 40; Peter Evans, 'Collective Capabilities, Culture, and Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom.*' *Studies in Comparative International Development,* Summer 2002, 37:2, 55; and Alastair Greig, David Hulme and Mark Turner, *Challenging Global Inequality: Development theory and practice in the 21st century.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, 22.

framework therefore provides a lens through which an understanding of both Christian and secular discourses of development can be sharpened and compared.

First explored by Sen as a means of expanding the perceived reductionist utilitarian thinking inherent in welfare economics,[233] the capabilities approach has formed the central subject of several of his significant monographs between the mid-1980s and the present day.[234] Sen has explored a number of different frames within which to deploy his approach: from understanding capabilities as expanding freedoms and removing 'un-freedoms', to expanding capabilities as a means of eradicating gross, indisputable injustices (such as hunger). Consistently, such deployment by Sen is theoretical rather than practical. He has resisted calls to define essential capabilities or to apply the theory in any specific way, claiming that such application ignores the competing ways in which different people could make different judgments about the value of particular capabilities in different contexts.[235] Sabina Alkire supports this view, stating that the value judgments of individuals about capabilities can differ greatly, "each of which would be coherent with the capability approach. To choose one might be to rule out others and therefore compromise the 'incompleteness' and 'pluralism' of the capability approach."[236] But Martha Nussbaum is just one of several theorists who have attempted to apply Sen's ideas in ways he has explicitly resisted; she particularised "the central capabilities"[237] and brought a feminist approach to the deployment of capabilities.[238] Both Sen's theoretical framework and Nussbaum's application of it will be examined in this section, to uncover the critique each can offer faith-based development models.

Criticism of Sen's development framework, from both faith and secular thinkers, most commonly focuses upon the perception that Sen over-emphasises the individual's importance to the detriment of the role of the community; and in so

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[233] Robert Sugden, 'Welfare, Resources, and Capabilities: A review of *Inequality Re-examined* by Amartya Sen.' *Journal of Economic Literature,* 31 December 1993, 1947. See also Mozaffar Qizilbash, 'Amartya Sen's Capability View: Insightful sketch or distorted picture?' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 54.
[234] Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities.* Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987; Amartya Sen, *Inequality Re-examined.* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992; Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999. Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice.* Penguin, London, 2010.
[235] Amartya Sen, *Inequality Re-examined.* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, 46.
[236] Sabina Alkire, *Valuing Freedoms: Sen's capability approach and poverty reduction.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, 3.
[237] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The human development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, 33-4.
[238] Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 34–54.

doing, presumes that there are particular needs and desires which are universal to all people – a presumption which Sen openly acknowledges.[239] These criticisms will be carefully considered from both Christian and secular standpoints, to interrogate whether Sen is justified in his approach. The capabilities approach could therefore provide a useful corrective to a number of the presumptions of the Christian perspective, particularly the tendency to emphasise the value of the community over the individual.

5.2. CAPABILITIES AND INDIVIDUALISM

Sen's body of work is predicated on the idea that "individual agency is, ultimately, central to addressing… deprivations."[240] The primacy of individual agency within Sen's work relies heavily upon the thinking of Adam Smith, whom Sen references throughout his work as a major influence.[241] Smith's theories, heavily influenced in turn by Aristotelian thought, were largely based on the presumption that human passions, virtues and vices were ultimately subsumed by the overriding motivation of self-interest. As with the theory of "trickle-down wealth,"[242] this individual self-interest would benefit society as a whole.[243] "In Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*…[he] presents humans as driven by a natural desire for self-improvement, which under conditions of free competition leads them 'as if by an invisible hand' to promote the public well-being."[244] An early critic of Smith, Thomas Reid, dismissed this theory as simply a device for justifying extreme love of self.[245] Smith can be read as giving permission to motives that promote economic growth, as long as

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[239] "The overriding value of freedom as the organizing principle of this work has the feature of a strong universalist presumption." (Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 244.)
[240] Ibid, xi.
[241] "The belief that the enhancement of freedom is ultimately an important motivating factor for assessing economic and social change is not at all new. Adam Smith was explicitly concerned with crucial human freedoms." (Ibid, 289) See also ibid, xvi and 26-28. Martha Nussbaum has examined the influence of Smith discernible in Sen's work, pointing out that the basis of all of Smith's work is the question "What form of action by government permits human abilities to develop and human equality to be respected?" (Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The human development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, 133.) She goes on to claim that "Smith attained an insight that lies at the heart of the Capabilities Approach: an understanding that human abilities come into the world in a nascent or undeveloped form and require support from the environment…. if they are to mature in a way that is worthy of human dignity." (Ibid, 137.)
[242] "The so-called trickle-down theory… suggested that the benefits of economic growth are bound to improve the lot of the poor, even if no direct action is taken in that direction." (Ibid, 47.)
[243] Within Smith's works, "one master motive, the self-interested pursuit of wealth, subsumed all others." Robert and Edward Skidelsky, *How Much is Enough? The love of money, and the case for the good life.* Penguin, London, 2012, 51.
[244] Ibid, 50.
[245] Elmer H. Duncan and Robert M. Baird, 'Thomas Reid's Criticism of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments.' Journal of the History of Ideas,* 38:3 (July – September 1977), 512.

these motives serve the social good; but the idea of the social good as a collective achievement is lost.[246]

Sen's analysis of poverty relies heavily upon Smith's interpretation of the common good as something to be pursued by individuals who are ultimately motivated by personal gain, within the wider context of serving broader social goods. According to Sen, if individuals can attain freedom and agency to achieve their social, political and economic goals, then deprivations in all areas of life will be addressed.[247] Nussbaum has reiterated this point, claiming that capabilities "belong first and foremost to individual persons, and only derivatively to groups. The approach espouses a principle of *each person as an end.* It stipulates that the goal is to produce capabilities for each and every person, and not to use some people as a means to the capabilities of others or of the whole."[248] Nussbaum also cites the family-oriented approach of a number of governments to development, in which some individuals – particularly women – can have their capabilities overlooked or subsumed by the priorities of others, primarily their husbands or children.[249] Attending to the capabilities of each individual is, in Nussbaum's view, the only way such problems can be addressed. Nussbaum reiterates in several of her works that she considers this view of the primacy of the individual as an inheritance from Aristotle, who insisted that a society could not flourish if each individual was not flourishing.[250] This is a view shared by Christian thought; but Christianity does run counter to the capabilities approach in raising the question of whether those who are flourishing have an obligation towards those who are not, in particular to those who cannot. As John Alexander has pointed out: "Responsibility in a theory of social justice is best not seen as the ability of the individual to take complete control of oneself and the environment, but rather as a reciprocal relationship between the individual and society."[251] The lack of such reciprocity within the capabilities

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[246] Robert and Edward Skidelsky, *How Much is Enough? The love of money, and the case for the good life.* Penguin, London, 2012, 52.
[247] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, xi.
[248] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The human development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, 35.
[249] Ibid. Sabina Alkire has made a similar point, stating that not all people value the same freedoms as those which are valued by their community or family and it is women who are most likely to lose access to the capabilities they prioritise individually in a situation in which these are determined corporately. (Sabina Alkire, 'Using the Capability Approach: Prospective and evaluative analyses.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 39.)
[250] Martha Nussbaum, 'Aristotle, Politics and Human Capabilities: A response to Antony, Arneson, Charlesworth and Mulgan.' *Ethics,* 111;1, October 2000, 106.
[251] John M. Alexander, *Capabilities and Social Justice: The political philosophy of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum.* Ashgate, Aldershot and Burlington, 2008, 112.

approach has led critics to identify the focus on the individual as the framework's most problematic aspect.

Although Nussbaum defends the individualistic focus of the capability approach, she acknowledges in her 2006 work *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* that the liberal agenda, in prioritising individual agency and achievement, excludes certain people from opportunities open to the majority.[252] Chief among those excluded are people living with disabilities. But Nussbaum attempts to show that the capabilities approach provides a theoretical means of filling this gap and enabling people with disabilities to participate equally in society. If attention is paid to the ways in which the capabilities of such individuals can be exercised through mutually advantageous relationships with others, their exclusion will be mitigated or even eradicated. However, in his critique of her work, Stanley Hauerwas draws upon the work of Alan Ryan to point out that her proposals are highly theoretical and could not work in practice. "No theory that explains justice as a contract for mutual advantage will show that… duties towards the disabled are a matter of justice. There may be little mutual advantage for the person who helps [an individual living with a disability]."[253] Hauerwas' arguments stem from Christian thought, which teaches that individual agency and ability is not necessarily the main object in life. A perspective focused upon individual agency is inward looking in contrast with the outward, relational focus of the Christian perspective, as articulated by Rowan Williams among others. Christian thought dictates that those living with disabilities are made in the image of God and are therefore precious and equal to all others. As such, assisting those living with disabilities is a requirement of our humanity, rather than part of a contract through which the able-bodied helper expects to gain some degree of mutual advantage. As John Alexander points out, any sense of reciprocity between the individual enjoying the advantages of full capabilities, and society more widely (including those unable to enjoy full capabilities), is notably absent from the capabilities approach. Christian thought demonstrates that the individual focus of the capabilities approach is irreconcilable with the needs of both individuals unable to enhance their capabilities and the good of society as a whole.

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[252] Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, nationality, species membership.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 1-2.
[253] Alan Ryan, 'Cosmopolitans.' *New York Review of Books,* 53, 2006, 48-9. Stanley Hauerwas, 'The Politics of Gentleness: Random thoughts for a conversation with Jean Varnier.' Stanley Hauerwas and Romand Coles, *Christianity, Democracy and the Radical Ordinary: Conversations between a radical democrat and a Christian.* The Lutterworth Press, Cambridge, 2008, 201.

Severin Denuelin has argued from a different perspective that the tension between the role of the individual and the community is a problematic aspect of the capabilities approach. She claims that the framework can survive at a theoretical level, but not when it "becomes a guiding theory for development practice."[254] Deneulin cites the example of communities in Costa Rica, which have reached significant development milestones because they came to a consensus at community level on key issues such as education and the environment. She claims, therefore, that: "Institutions or societal arrangements are of central importance for promoting the freedoms of individuals."[255] In response, Sabina Alkire suggests Deneulin has misunderstood the purpose of the capabilities approach: it is not meant to be a "prospective" framework for planning how development projects can be carried out, but is rather an "evaluative" tool for measuring the success of development work.[256] Does this mean that the successes Costa Rican communities achieved through consensus should only be evaluated in terms of what these successes delivered for particular individuals? Would the capabilities approach judge these communities as more successful in delivering minor benefits to an entire community, or major benefits to one or two individuals? In situations where resources are scarce, this is a choice that is likely to be made on a regular basis – but the capabilities approach gives little guidance on how it should be evaluated. Sen's recommendation that development be assessed "in terms of whether the freedoms that individuals have are enhanced" and that it should be achieved through the "free agency of individuals"[257] do not help us determine whether it is purely the benefit to individuals that should be assessed, or whether there is scope to evaluate the expanded capabilities of an entire community.

Like Deneulin, Peter Evans has critiqued the individual focus of the capabilities approach, pointing out that for those who enjoy privilege, "collective action may seem superfluous to capability."[258] For the less privileged, ties of dependency are much tighter, particularly in communities in which faith continues to play a major

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[254] Severin Deneulin, 'Beyond Individual Freedom and Agency: Structures of living together in the capability approach.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 106.
[255] Ibid, 108.
[256] Sabina Alkire, 'Using the Capability Approach: Prospective and evaluative analyses.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 34.
[257] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 4.
[258] Peter Evans, 'Collective Capabilities, Culture and Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom.*' *Studies in Comparative International Development,* 37;2, 2002, 56.

role. As Deneulin and Evans both highlight, it is the practical application of the capabilities approach that exposes this flaw. "In practice, my ability to choose the life I have reason to value often hangs on the possibility of my acting together with others who have reason to value similar things. Individual capabilities depend upon collective capabilities."[259] In Deneulin's example, Costa Rican communities came together to lobby local government for better schooling facilities – uniting as a community to expand their collective capability to access education. It is unlikely that an individual would have achieved the same result in pursuit of a freedom he or she had reason to value.

One force that can unite communities in this way is faith. Members of a church, mosque, or other local religious affiliation can often work together to pressure governments into delivering services which enhance their capabilities.[260] However, Sen distrusts religion, viewing it not as a unifying force, but one that pressures individuals to conform to the desires of the group. He claims people can be forced "to obey the decisions by religious… authorities who enforce traditions – real or imagined."[261] The Catholic Church has refuted his argument. Through the work of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, it has claimed that: "Freedom of thought, as a necessary condition for seeking the truth in all fields of human knowledge, does not mean that human reason must cease to function in the light of the Revelation which Christ entrusted to his Church. By opening itself to divine truth, created reason experiences a blossoming and a perfection which are an eminent form of freedom."[262] In speaking of religion's effect on individual freedom of thought in idealised circumstances, the Catholic Church may be falling into a similar trap to Sen; but the point demonstrates that Sen takes an unnecessarily negative view of the manner in which religion can affect individual choice. He also arguably idealises the extent to which individuals can make value judgments without being influenced by their culture, community and context. Conformity to faith-based or cultural norms is a fact among many communities, and one that must

[259] Ibid.
[260] One example of such a practice cited in the interviews undertaken during the course of the research for this project referenced churches in South Africa gathering during apartheid, consolidating their objectives and forming a formidable social force for change. This movement enhanced the capabilities of the black population of South Africa immeasurably. Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:23:14 – 0:24:25.
[261] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 32.
[262] Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation: "The Truth Makes us Free."* Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger and Alberto Bovone, March 22, 1986. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19860322_freedom-liberation_en.html. Viewed 21 September 2013, pt. 20.

be accepted if the capabilities approach is to be applied in a realistically insightful, rather than an idealised, manner.

But the ongoing debate as to whether capabilities are individualistic should not remain a clear dichotomy. There are some instances in which a focus on the individual (whether prospective or evaluative) is required, and others in which the community must be regarded as the foremost social unit. Although Sen's capabilities approach is a significant point of reference in Christian Aid's explicit theology,[263] much of the organisation's discourse focuses on the community as the primary unit of social change.[264] In this context, the capabilities approach could provide a necessary corrective to a development framework that frequently treats the community as the means and end of development, losing sight of individuals who – as both Alkire[265] and Nussbaum[266] have pointed out – may have hopes and needs that differ from those of the collective. Neither the individual nor the community approach is universally applicable or right, and each has much to learn from the other. The following section explores the manner in which these competing claims could be more successfully balanced.

5.3. Conceptions of Freedom, the Community and the Individual

Both the critiques from Deneulin and Evans, and Sen's narrow view of religion as a force restricting individual freedom, demonstrate that the capabilities approach, while valid as a theory, is problematic when applied to particular – rather than theoretical – contexts. Alkire has defended the capabilities approach against this criticism by claiming some of practical applications fall outside the bounds of reasonable use of the framework,[267] but others see these applications as a

[263] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 8-9.
[264] "In many of the countries where Christian Aid works, churches and faith groups are rooted and active in every community. Often, it is to these groups that people turn for support and comfort when disasters strike, for hope and inspiration in their struggle against oppression, and for sanctuary at times of danger. It is there that people find their identity affirmed and their dignity upheld. It is through partnerships with churches, and faith communities such as these, that Christian Aid can best hear the voices of those who live in poverty." Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 14.
[265] Sabina Alkire, 'Using the Capability Approach: Prospective and evaluative analyses.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 39.
[266] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The human development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, 35.
[267] Sabina Alkire, 'Using the Capability Approach: Prospective and evaluative analyses.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 35.

necessary test of the approach's relevance to development.[268] Putting individual capabilities first would probably entail offering all individuals, regardless of gender, age, or social situation, unfettered freedom of choice. But in many poor communities, choices are not taken individually, and to presume they could be ignores the strength and complexity of the social ties that commonly exist in these contexts.

The Christian thinking on development outlined in Section 4 emphasises this point. It works on the central assumption that the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the community are one and the same thing[269] – therefore, the welfare of the community should be prioritised so that the welfare of *all* individuals can be realised as a result. However, as with Sen's rigid adherence to the idea that freedom can only be realised through the individual, Christian adherence to the centrality of community could, in some contexts, be inappropriate. As already noted, Christian Aid approaches broad issues such as hunger with the expectation that whole communities will tackle them *together*.[270] However, one staff member has suggested that helping individuals to participate in the capitalist market system – by leaving the rural community to work in the city, for example – would benefit both the individual and the individual's family more than Christian Aid's community-oriented approach.[271] It is evident that both the capabilities and Christian approaches to development are to some extent reductive, and that closer examination of how development works in practice could bring greater realism and applicability to each.

Although the differences between Christian development thinking and the capabilities framework seem glaring, beneath the relatively superficial 'community versus individual' dispute, lies a common stream of thought: the dignity of the human person. But the disagreement over the relative importance of the community and the individual pulls apart the shared understanding on human dignity: are people to be valued equally within the community, or as individuals? A

[268] Severine Deneulin, 'Beyond Individual Freedom and Agency: Structures of living together in the capability approach.' Ibid, 106.
[269] Rowan Williams, 'Relating Intelligently to Religion.' A speech delivered 12 November 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2009/nov/12/faith-development-rowan-williams. Viewed 2 April 2012, 5.
[270] The resources for Christian Aid Week 2013 featured communities in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Bolivia working together as collectives to increase food production and incomes across whole communities. Individuals were featured in these resources, but only as particular examples of the ways in which whole communities had benefitted from development initiatives.
[271] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, post-interview notes.

central point of contention is the understanding of what freedom means and how it can be achieved. Sen has, famously and repeatedly, claimed that freedom is "both… the primary end and… the principal means of development. Development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency. The removal of substantial unfreedoms, it is argued here, is *constitutive* of development."[272] As has already been noted, Sen sees religion as a considerable barrier to the freedom he describes.[273] This sets him in direct opposition to a number of Christian thinkers, to whom faith is the constitutive element of true freedom.

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in its 1986 *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation,* claimed that the modern understanding of what it means to be a 'free person' has its roots in Christian tradition. "The Gospel of Jesus Christ has evoked an awareness of the hitherto unsuspected depths of human freedom. Thus the quest for freedom and the aspiration to liberation, which are among the principal signs of the times in the modern world, have their first source in the Christian heritage."[274] This argument returns to the centrality of human dignity: without Jesus' teaching that all people are of equal worth, it is questionable whether freedom would be considered attainable by those individuals and communities living in poverty, who have come under the influence of his teaching. This is why Rowan Williams claims that: "'Secular' freedom is not enough… this account of the liberal society dangerously simplifies the notion of freedom and ends up diminishing our understanding of the human person."[275] Williams' point is that there is more to freedom than an individual – or even a group – pursuing their aims with minimal reference to social structures. Without a collective understanding of what it is to be human, which is provided to us by faith, freedom becomes alienated from conceptions of the common good, and has the potential to be a destructive force in society. For this reason, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith called for "truth and love" to be essential elements of freedom. It stated that without these, "The process of liberation results in the death of freedom which

[272] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, xii.
[273] Ibid, 32.
[274] Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation: "The Truth Makes us Free."* Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger and Alberto Bovone, 22 March 1986. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19860322_freedom-liberation_en.html Viewed 21 September 2013, pt. 5.
[275] Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square.* Bloomsbury, London, 2012, 24.

will have lost all support."[276] Reciprocal bonds are indispensable to Christian conceptions of freedom, but Sen touches only very lightly on society's role in enabling individuals to achieve freedoms.[277] The role of society in moderating these freedoms is not addressed at all.

The dichotomy examined in this section and Section 5.2 – between approaches to development that value the individual over the community, or the community over the individual – can each be understood as an outworking of the view that all people are equal in dignity and worth. These differing paths are often seen as dichotomous. In fact, they need to be understood as complementary aspects of the same original conception of the person, each of which can offer a much-needed corrective to the other. Individuals can and do have needs that are particular and differ from those of their community – to a significant extent, in the case of those who are often excluded from collective decision-making. But it is important to remember that individuals' judgments about what they most need are made in the context of a wider community and are influenced by those who surround, nurture and support them. Neither approach is correct to the point that it should be deployed without reference to the other; neither approach can be used exclusively to help poor communities and individuals improve their quality of life.

5.4. Can Capabilities Claim Universal Applicability?

A strong universalist presumption necessarily underpins the capabilities approach,[278] so the question this section sets out to answer could be seen as redundant. However, the universalist presumption remains a contested area of the capabilities approach. Some thinkers suggest there are values that are indisputably applicable to everyone, making a universalist approach appropriate for a framework seeking to measure human development; others suggest that values

[276] Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation: "The Truth Makes us Free."* Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger and Alberto Bovone, March 22, 1986. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19860322_freedom-liberation_en.html Viewed 21 September 2013, Pt. 24.

[277] "There is a deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements. It is important to give simultaneous recognition to the centrality of individual freedom *and* to the force of social influences on the extent and reach of individual freedom. To counter the problems that we face, we have to see individual freedom as a social commitment." (Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, xi-xii)

[278] "The overriding value of freedom as the organizing principle of this work has [the] feature of a strong universalist presumption." Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 244.

differ greatly between individuals and cultures, rendering the capabilities approach inapplicable to particular contexts.

Amartya Sen acknowledges there are differences between people and cultures at a practical level, but he goes on to conclude that: "Different people from different cultures… share many common values and agree on some common commitments."[279] Sen does not elaborate upon what these values and commitments might be, but we can presume that they are those elements widely accepted as necessary for a life free from poverty, such as rewarding employment, access to education and healthcare, and the ability to connect with and engage in markets. Martha Nussbaum lists the ten overarching capabilities she considers indispensable. These include health and the ability to find and carry out employment in a manner that upholds the dignity of the individual.[280]

Sen's claim that certain key values are universally-held can be interpreted as ignoring other values, which may conflict with those he presumes are universal. A poor widow may wish to engage in markets to earn a living, but is impeded by a culture that would ostracise her were she to do so.[281] The capabilities approach, in the form presented by Sen, offers no process for negotiating the inevitable tensions between the universal values required to bring about development and the traditional values of a community. Martha Nussbaum has grappled at length with this dilemma, acknowledging that: "International development projects have often gone wrong through insufficient attunement to cultural variety and particularity."[282] But she concurs with Sen in her belief that there are a number of key values, such as the dignity of the human person, which are applicable in every context.[283] In particular, Nussbaum points out that discrimination against women is, to differing degrees in varying contexts, a universal element of the human condition.[284] She claims that a universal approach is the only way of effectively dealing with such discrimination. "There are universal obligations to protect human functioning and its dignity, and that the dignity of women is equal to that of

[279] Ibid.
[280] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The human development approach.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, UK, 2011, 33-4.
[281] The Christian Aid Harvest 2009 materials tell the story of Dalit widows in India being supported by a Christian Aid partner to farm disused land and sell produce, against the cultural norms and values of their community.
[282] Martha Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The capabilities approach.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 40.
[283] Ibid, 41.
[284] Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, 31.

men. If that involves assault on many local traditions, both Western and non-Western, so much the better, because any tradition that denies these things is unjust."[285] Nussbaum asserts that the capabilities approach can deliver just such a universal "assault." It does not presume that a woman should accept the norms of her culture – rather, that a woman should decide whether to accept such cultural norms based on the likelihood of her capabilities being expanded or reduced as a result.[286] The universalism Nussbaum advocates is not culturally relative, setting up Western values as ideals – rather, she asserts that the ideal standard should be full equality of the sexes, which has yet to prevail in any country or culture.[287] In this interpretation, capabilities come before cultural affiliations, leaving Sen and Nussbaum open to the accusation that this is an idealised application of the approach, which would be difficult to realise in practice. However, Nussbaum responds with the example of female genital mutilation (FGM), an issue she suggests requires practical, pragmatic and universal approaches. By demonstrating that FGM is not a practice grounded in religious belief, but in male domination of women's sexual lives, Nussbaum highlights it is of no benefit to women, and limits their capabilities.[288] Indeed, she correlates FGM with an infringement of women's human rights.[289]

Although Nussbaum advocates for the universalist element of the capabilities approach to remain central, she concludes that rigid universality is not the solution being sought. "We want an approach that is respectful of each person's struggle for flourishing, that treats each person as an end and as a source of agency and worth in her own right. Part of this respect will mean not being dictatorial about the good [and this] requires both generality and particularity: both some overriding benchmarks and detailed knowledge of the variety of circumstances and cultures in which people are striving to do well."[290] Nussbaum argues that the capabilities approach is the only framework that provides a flexible universality. It acknowledges both broadly applicable values, such as the dignity of the human being, and can be used to highlight more particular cultural concerns, such as the

[285] Ibid, 30.
[286] Ibid, 46.
[287] Ibid, 31.
[288] Ibid, 128.
[289] "International and national officials who have been culpably slow to recognize gender-specific abuses as human rights violations are beginning to get the idea that women's rights are human rights, and that freedom from FGM is among them." Ibid, 129.
[290] Martha Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The capabilities approach.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 69-70.

lesser value placed on women. The values Nussbaum believes should be embedded within capabilities are so central that their removal would compromise the dignity of the person; the values that can be left to local cultures and political processes to determine are not central to maintaining such dignity.[291]

It is possible to interpret the overt universality of the capabilities approach as a form of cultural imperialism, dictating to a plethora of societies and cultures what the key priorities for human flourishing must be in all contexts. Sen's deliberately open and non-prescriptive approach, however, avoids doing so; and Nussbaum's analysis of the ways in which capabilities can creatively interact with both rights and values allows space for both particularity and flexibility within a universal approach. The capabilities approach, as Section 5.3 concluded, shares Christianity's central belief in the dignity of the human person. It can therefore been seen as a theoretical framework to be held in creative tension with Christian interpretations of development.

5.5. CONCLUSION

This section reflected on faith and secular discourses of development, using the capabilities approach as a unifying lens. It examined the most commonly criticised elements of Sen's work – its perceived bias toward the individual, and the presumption of universality at its core – alongside Christian development thought. Commentary from Nussbaum, Alkire and others on each of these points has taken the debate beyond the philosophical realm in which Sen is most comfortable. Nussbaum has shown that the application of the capabilities framework to particular situations and issues demonstrates that claims of individualism and universalism have valid grounds, but can be reductive. Likewise, Sen's reductive view of religion has contributed to a dearth of discussion on whether upholding universal capabilities could be to the detriment of culturally relative values, including religious belief.

Comparing Christian schools of development thought with the capabilities approach demonstrates that neither is without its weaknesses. The capabilities approach is consistently described by its supporters as a theoretical and evaluative tool; yet to be relevant it must be applicable in practice. It is this practical

[291] Ibid, 32.

application that reveals the problems inherent in the approach's focus on the individual and its dismissal of the communal reality in which the vast majority of poor people live. Christian conceptions of the community as central to development are equally vulnerable to criticism. Individual voices and priorities can become subsumed by the needs – or the power structures – of the group; and there are claims that in practice it is easier and more effective for an individual to escape poverty than for a group to do so through the incremental long-term expansion of community capabilities favoured by Christian approaches such as Christian Aid's.

The divergent understandings of freedom espoused by Sen and Christian thinkers further underline the tensions of this 'community or individual' split. However, beneath this divide is a deeply unifying thread: the inherent dignity and worth of every person. This is the value upon which both the capabilities approach and Christian development thinking are founded. Martha Nussbaum's interpretation of Sen's broadly expressed and undefined "universality"[292] is vital here. It is her understanding of what this universality entails that makes consensus with Christian thinking possible. Nussbaum's universality is not rigid or dictated by Western values. It is flexible and responsive to the denigration of human rights, particularly the rights of women, which are most often violated by cultural norms. Ultimately, Sen, Nussbaum and other 'capabilitists' seek to uphold individual human dignity – particularly the dignity of those who are most vulnerable to forces more powerful than themselves. This aim correlates with the Christian desire to see all people flourish as they are meant to, having been made in God's image. Both the capabilities framework and Christian approaches to development are constructed around the belief that all people are created equal and should therefore have equal access to opportunities in life. Each approach has something to learn from the other's bias towards particularity, in the case of capabilities, or inclusion, in the case of Christianity. As this section has demonstrated, the capabilities approach can shed light on Christian development thinking, particularly as it is embodied by Christian Aid.

[292] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 244.

6. CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to answer Research Question 3:

> *What are the points of consensus and contention between secular and faith discourses of development and how do they each influence the other?*

It began by drawing together various understandings of the term 'development' from secular and faith perspectives, and proposed an understanding of the term to be used throughout this thesis. This exercise demonstrated the breadth of ways in which development is understood and began a discussion, continued throughout the chapter, about how and why these different perspectives have evolved.

From this foundation, an historical analysis of both secular and Christian development discourses revealed the key points of consensus and contention between them. The role of significant institutions (such as the WCC) and schools of thought (such as economic growth models) was explored to trace the evolution of the two distinct development perspectives.

Despite being commonly characterised as dichotomous, faith and secular discourses have existed in relationship, constantly influencing one another. The pressure on faith-based organisations to conform to the demands of the normative secular agenda was, for many decades, intense. But as major voices within secular development, such as the World Bank, acknowledged that the 'Washington Consensus' was not providing what the world's poorest and most vulnerable people needed, faith perspectives have become more prominent. No longer tentative voices on the margins expressing distrust of economic growth, they now make a more central contribution to dialogue within the 'post-Washington consensus.' In this climate of greater mutual respect, in which differences are valued rather than simply being sources of tension, the exploration of Christian Aid's theology of development within this thesis can be seen as a natural step forward, rather than being viewed as a study peripheral to development discourse, as it might once have been.

To further illuminate the shared, if tense, history of secular and faith development perspectives, this chapter explored the capabilities approach – the source of a

number of significant points of consensus and contention between the discourses. Theologians and sociologists of religion have criticised the capabilities approach for ignoring individual differences (exemplified by Hauerwas' thoughts on disability) and dismissing the role of the community in development (the focus of Deneulin's critique). Sen's focus on the value of the individual and his distrust of religion as a force that clouds individual judgment positions his theoretical framework firmly within the secular realm. But it shares one fundamental belief with Christianity: the essential dignity and equality of all people. And Nussbaum's exploration of flexible universality, which challenges damaging cultural norms, is an interpretation of capabilities to which Christian discourses of development should be alert. It offers a healthy challenge to the conception of the community as the only social construct with which development should interact. Accorded the status of an interlocutor within Christian Aid's explicit theology, the capabilities approach has a contribution to make to the organisation's discourse and praxis; but Christian Aid is yet to fully explore or properly apply the concept of flexible universality.

By exploring the interaction of faith and secular discourses in the realm of development, this chapter has laid a theoretical foundation upon which Christian Aid's particular role within this dialogue can now be explored. As an organisation that has been significantly influenced by the normative secular paradigm, by Christian development thinking and by the capabilities approach, Christian Aid is a microcosm of the broader discussions explored in this chapter. The points of consensus and contention between faith and secular development discourse have been felt, discussed and acted upon at Christian Aid – both in its discourse and praxis of development. It is these discussions which will be brought to light in Chapter Two, now that Chapter One has done the work of examining the broader global context in which these debates had their genesis.

CHAPTER TWO

THREE THEOLOGICAL VOICES:
DISCERNING HOW THESE GUIDE THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN AID

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to respond to Research Question 2:

> *How are the various theological voices (implicit, explicit and null) at work within Christian Aid expressed and understood, and how do they exert influence over staff, supporters and sponsoring churches?*

The response to this question will be generated through analysis and presentation of the ethnographic data gathered in interviews and observations during the fieldwork phase of this project.

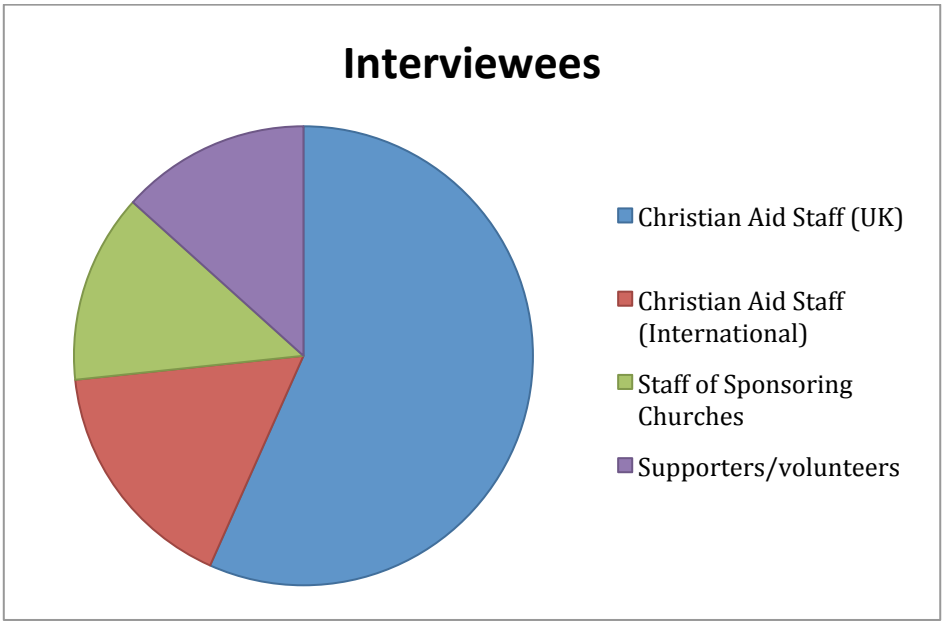
As explained in the Methodology, combining a practical theology framework and ethnographic research tools will generate the data required to offer a full and considered response to the above research question. The praxis of international development is understood, by many of those whose voices are heard in the source data, as a place where the gospel is grounded, embodied, interpreted and lived out.[293] The methodology has therefore been designed to take seriously the interaction of human experience with theological reflection and enquiry. In the process it will provide the ideal framework for examining the faith motivation and theological discourse driving the very human activity of tackling material poverty. The research method also needs to uncover what is unsaid, unwritten, or referred to only obliquely within both the formal and the informal discourse of Christian Aid. Critical ethnography, combined with the creative listening and reflection inherent in practical theology, provides an ideal means of discovering those

[293] John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research.* SCM Press, London, 2006, 5. This view is reflected in Interview 3, September 2012, 0:00:01 – 0:00:22; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:14:21 – 0:15:27; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:14:03 – 0:14:40; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:00:28 – 0:02:04; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:02:04 – 0:02:19; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:07:26 – 0:07:51; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:13:12 – 0:13:50; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:11:54 – 0:12:09; Interview 23, January 15, 2013 0:29:37 – 0:31:06; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:27:31 – 0:28:14; Interview 28, May 9, 2013 0:09:58 – 0:14:06; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:03:07 – 0:03:24; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:13:04 – 0:13:50.

thoughts and ideas that remain unvoiced or unwritten. It also helps to determine how such norms could be changed for the better.

Interviews with 30 participants provide the majority of the source material referenced within this chapter. Of these interviewees, 17 were UK-based members Christian Aid staff; five were Christian Aid staff members working internationally; four were church-going Christian Aid supporters and/or volunteers; and four were staff members employed by one of Christian Aid's 41 sponsoring churches.

Diagram 3:



The Christian Aid staff members interviewed were drawn from different departments and were, at the time of interviews, working in various geographical locations across the UK, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Interview questions followed a basic guide, but in every case the unique perspective of the interviewee ensured that different issues were pursued to differing extents. For this reason, interviews undertaken as part of this research are regarded as informal, rather than formal. More than 20 observation sessions – involving these same participants along with other staff, supporters and representatives of sponsoring churches – were carried out to check, cross-reference and correct the conclusions being drawn from the interview data. A research diary was kept to record surprising discoveries, new ideas, reflections, and changes in the research plan and process. A feedback session was held involving 40 members of Christian Aid staff (eight of

whom had been interviewed) early in the data-analysis process. It provided helpful insights on and challenges to the earliest conclusions drawn from the data.

The staff members and staff of sponsoring churches interviewed offered reflective and often critical insights into Christian Aid's theology, culture, identity and work. By contrast, church-going supporters were more positive. This is in some measure because their opinions were offered from an 'external' perspective. They receive worship and promotional material from Christian Aid, attend local meetings with supporters from other churches, and give both their time and money to Christian Aid's work, but – unlike Christian Aid staff and the staff of sponsoring churches – they do not have insider knowledge of how the organisation is run and the resulting tensions and conflicts.

Although ethnographic data gathered through interviews and observations provides the majority of the source material referenced in this chapter, Christian Aid documents also offer a rich seam of information and evidence. In particular, publications that are part of Christian Aid's explicit theology are used alongside interview and observation data to discover points of confluence and contradiction between the explicit, implicit and null theological voices. Questions probing the feelings and opinions of staff on Christian Aid's theology[294] met with a variety of responses. Significantly, more than one-third[295] of participants – drawn from all three groups of interviewees – think the explicit theology of Christian Aid is not widely used or understood, and so does not encourage fruitful or insightful reflection on the organisation's work. One-third[296] of interviewees felt to some degree that implicit theologies were of more use in carrying out such reflection. A

[294] Typical questions used to open up this discussion were: 'Do you use Christian Aid's published theology in your day-to-day work?'; and 'Do you feel that Christian Aid's published theology represents the organisation's position on faith and development?'.
[295] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:53 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:32:30; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:13:39; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:12:32 – 0:12:50; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:30:45 – 0:31:20; Interview 20, December 5, 2012, 0:08:45 – 0:09:07; Interview 21, December 14 2012, 0:17:54; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:33:41; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:13:09 – 0:14:23; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:05:31 – 0:06:01; and Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:17:54 – 0:18:36.
[296] Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:02:55 – 0:03:14; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:07:48 – 0:09:16; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:34:07 – 0:35:14; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:24:04 – 0:26:06; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:15:43; Interview 20, December 5, 2012, 0:09:07 – 0:10:02; Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 0:21:42; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:06:03 – 0:06:24; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:18:36 – 0:19:07; and Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:13:05.

variety of null theologies were evident in the contributions of just under a third[297] of participants.

The most contentious issues, highlighting considerable tensions between the three theological voices, were the nature of Christian Aid's partnerships with churches in the UK and with those organisations delivering overseas development programmes; and the Christological thinking from which inspiration is drawn for Christian Aid's development work.

This chapter will respond to Research Question 2 by presenting and analysing the ethnographic data gathered through interviews and observations, alongside Christian Aid's explicit theology and other organisational documents. In doing so, it will determine key points of consensus and contention in Christian Aid's theological discourse, and the ways in which each theological voice exerts influence over the day-to-day work of Christian Aid. An important starting point for this discussion is the context provided by an exploration, through the primary data, of Christian Aid's recent history. This will highlight changes in the organisation's identity and provide a meaningful backdrop to the analysis of the current situation, which follows in Sections 4 to 6. First, though, I will provide an overview of how the categories of explicit, implicit and null theologies have been formed and shaped by the primary source data, setting the scene for more detailed discussion of these categories throughout the chapter.

2. THE THEOLOGICAL VOICES

Central to this study of Christian Aid's theological reflection and discourse, and how these influence everyday praxis, is the framework of the three theological voices: explicit, implicit and null, already examined to some degree in the Methodology chapter. This section offers an over-arching presentation of how these voices make themselves known and interact, providing initial analysis on what these interactions mean for Christian Aid.

[297] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:48 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:24:05 – 0:25:28; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:07 – 0:10:55; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:12:57 – 0:13:44; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:17:47 – 0:18:25; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:31:04 – 0:31:59; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:12:59 – 0:14:23; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:59 – 0:14:23; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:35 – 0:04:19.

The concept of the explicit, implicit and null voices was not explained in any detail to interviewees. They were told in more general terms that the study aimed to examine the theologies at work within Christian Aid. Nonetheless, the majority of interviewees used similar or comparable categories, broadly covering:

- Christian Aid's published theology (explicit)
- each interviewee's own theological reflection, which informs their work (implicit)
- those theologies that have no place in Christian Aid's discourse, remaining unspoken and unexamined, but are, even in their absence, of great relevance to the organisation's work (null).

The fact that six interviewees[298] stated that their own theological reflection on Christian Aid's work is separate from, and draws on different influences to, Christian Aid's explicit theology affirmed the need for separate categories of 'explicit' and 'implicit'. The category of 'null' theologies was created in response to suggestions from nine interviewees,[299] that they would like to reflect on and discuss issues currently considered to fall outside of Christian Aid's theological purview, both explicit and implicit – issues they believed were, in fact, instrumental to the organisation's work and to meaningful reflection on that work.

The following overview looks at how the three theological voices came through during the fieldwork stage of this project, paying particular attention to how the voices speak to and influence one another. As Cameron et al assert, no one theological voice at work within any context is independent of the others.[300] So the lines between the explicit, implicit and null theologies at work within Christian Aid are blurred, moveable and overlap significantly.

Christian Aid's 'explicit' theology correlates with the 'formal' theological voice of Cameron et al's framework. This formal voice is defined as "the theology of the

[298] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:23 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:24:05 – 0:25:12; Interview 3, September 12, 2012 0:02:55 – 0:05:25; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:11:30 – 0:12:04; Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 0:17:54 – 0:18:38; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:07:31 – 0:08:12.
[299] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:48 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:24:05 – 0:25:28; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:07 – 0:10:55; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:12:57 – 0:13:44; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:17:47 – 0:18:25; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:31:04 – 0:31:59; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:12:59 – 0:14:23; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:59 – 0:14:23; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:35 – 0:04:19.
[300] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 54.

academy, of the 'professional' theologian… offering a specifically 'intellectual' articulation of faith seeking understanding."[301] There are also similarities between Christian Aid's explicit theology and the 'normative' voice identified by Cameron et al as "scriptures, the creeds, official church teaching, liturgies,"[302] in that the explicit theology was originally developed and for many years treated as the organisation's official theological teaching.

Christian Aid's 'intellectual' and 'official' explicit theology is made up of seven short papers produced over a period of eight years, from 2004 to 2012. It begins by exploring key areas of the organisation's work – namely HIV and AIDS, climate change, tax and land in the occupied Palestinian territories. The final two papers of the explicit theology, however, are far broader. The 2010 *Theology and International Development* report reviews Christian Aid's theological approach to development; and the 2012 paper *Theology from the Global South* provides a response to the 2010 report from Christian Aid's partners and supporting churches in various parts of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean. Participants in this study considered the earlier, issues-focused papers as forerunners to the more expansive thinking offered by these two most recent papers, which they more commonly referenced. In focusing on the two most recent reports, this chapter reflects the priorities of those interviewed. It acknowledges that, once published, the papers giving an overview of Christian Aid's theological approach to development largely took the place of the issues-focused reports.

Common to all seven of the reports that make up Christian Aid's explicit theology is the framework of 'relational theology', based on the thinking of Karl Barth.[303]

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[301] Ibid, 55.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Due to the sheer breadth of ideas contained in Barth's works (particularly *Church Dogmatics*), misconceptions or caricatures of Barth's ideas are, according to Nigel Biggar, common. (Nigel Biggar, *The Hastening that Waits: Karl Barth's ethics.* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, 2.) Christian Aid's explicit theology does not fall into this same trap wholeheartedly, but does focus upon one particular aspect of Barth's theology: that of 'relationality'. Relationship is, in Barth's view, intimate and personal, whether with God or with one another. The latter is modeled upon the former. (Nigel Biggar, ibid, 15.) In Barth's conception, right relationships are sought by humans in response to divine command from God – hearing and responding to such divine command being a central tenet of Christian belief and action. The pursuit of right relationships as response to such divine command is the means by which Barth "integrates moral understanding into a theological vision of human existence." (Nigel Biggar, ibid, 14.) To separate the concept of relationality from divine command in interpretation of Barth is to take a myopic view of his theology, as the two are deeply intertwined. This is, however, what Christian Aid's explicit theology does. In exploring the organisation's work as the pursuit of right relationships in the face of wrong relationships (which cause injustice and poverty), at no point is Christian Aid's work characterised as a response to divine command.

Flourishing relationships are at the heart of Christian Aid's explicit theological understanding of how lives can be improved; and broken relationships are seen as central to the causes and perpetuation of poverty.[304] It is the academic nature of Christian Aid's explicit theology, with its roots in Barth's thinking, which has, in part, caused many supporters, staff, and staff of sponsoring churches to differentiate it from the implicit and informal theological dialogue around Christian Aid's work. Some even feel the explicit theology lacks relevance to the day-to-day action and reflection upon this action that forms the implicit theology of Christian Aid. One Christian Aid staff member, musing on the nature of the theological reports that make up Christian Aid's explicit theology, said: "[Those] papers are all quite, um, heavy, aren't they? That *Theology of Development* paper… most people aren't going to plough their way through that."[305] The view of Christian Aid's explicit theology as inaccessible, expressed by seven interviewees,[306] was emphasised in a participant observation session. Three of the eight participants stated that they had never heard of Christian Aid's 'relational theology' (the Barthian framework on which the explicit theology is based), and that they did not understand what the term meant.[307] Even those familiar with Christian Aid's explicit theology, and who understand the thesis of a relational theology of development that lies within it, questioned its relevance to the organisation's work. One staff member suggested that this could be due to the partial nature of the reports that make up Christian Aid's explicit theology – no attempt is made to contextualise the thinking contained in these reports, and they have become a particular view from a particular perspective at a particular time, which easily loses relevance without meaningful exploration of context.[308]

But evidence emerged during the fieldwork stage of this research that there is more cohesion between the organisation's explicit and implicit theologies than some interviewees understood to be the case. The importance of relationship in Christian Aid's praxis is the over-arching theme of the organisation's explicit theology, echoing the emphasis on partnership in the implicit theologies of

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Relationality is seized upon as the single aspect of Barth's work relevant to Christian Aid, and is used without reference to the broader context within which Barth places it.

[304] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 2.

[305] Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:12:28 – 0:12:42.

[306] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:24: 05 – 0:25:12; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:13:39 – 0:15:29; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:09:29 – 0:10:55; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:33:08 – 0:33:57; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:12:59 – 0:14:23; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:05:23 – 0:06:42; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:17:18 – 0:17:53.

[307] Observation 23, November 22, 2013. Session notes.

[308] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:05:37 – 0:06:16.

interviewees. The concept of the equality of all people, having been graced by God with inherent dignity and worth, is at the forefront of the explicit theology; it also underpins interviewees' implicit understanding of the motivation behind Christian Aid's work. Inclusivity featured in both the explicit and the implicit theologies, too. It was articulated in various ways, but stemmed from a common understanding of what it means to work with all those who share common values, despite differences of faith, race, gender, sexuality and the many other aspects of diversity that surface within Christian Aid's partnerships.

Only one interviewee made reference to this confluence between the explicit and implicit, organisational and personal understandings of Christian Aid's theology of development. A staff member of a sponsoring church, he was perspicacious enough to see that the dichotomy between the implicit and the explicit was not necessarily as marked as some had claimed. "I think it would be fair to say that most people in the pews, most people in congregations, wouldn't read the sometimes quite complex theological position papers that are put out, or documents or whatever. But if you came along for instance… and spoke at something, summarising one of those reports, people would recognise that that's the sort of theological direction that they'd been hearing about for years [during] Christian Aid Week."[309] While recognising that such confluence across the broad spectrum of implicit and explicit theologies exists, it is important to note that in particularities – of articulation, reflection and action – there are significant differences between the theological ideas drawn from each. Sections 4, 5 and 6 of this chapter will deconstruct the specific elements of the implicit, explicit and null theologies at work at Christian Aid, to gain an understanding of the actual differences, the perceived differences and the broader similarities between them.

One superficial difference that sets the implicit voice apart from the explicit is the former's plurality of thought. The implicit theologies of staff, supporters and staff of Christian Aid's sponsoring churches are fluid, dynamic and shaped by the thoughts of a multiplicity of individuals. As a result, these shift constantly through dialogue, drawing on theologies both inside and outside the organisation. Implicit theologies reflect the very diverse set of theological views at Christian Aid, and influence the organisation's work in a variety of ways. They do not claim to be normative, and are aware of the dangers of taking a particular position or view to the exclusion of

[309] Interview 29, May 14, 2012, 0:17:29 – 0:19:14.

others. The language of scripture is used informally in implicit theologies. Jesus is portrayed as a source of spiritual guidance, linking the personal with the global as a means of understanding love and justice. Implicit theologies thereby remain relevant, even in the context of Christian Aid's rapidly changing identity. They influence and are influenced by organisational decisions, such as the recent choice to move back into closer relationship with the UK churches. The question of who owns implicit theologies is not significant to those who express them: all can contribute and all can learn, gifts of theological discourse being given and received on a daily basis.

In contrast, the explicit theology is seen as singular, fixed and closed to dialogue – thanks mainly to the fact it is published. Once written, printed and disseminated (although not necessarily read, according to three interviewees[310]), it is viewed as fixed, putting it in both a powerful and vulnerable position. Powerful because it is manifest in the written word and has to some extent taken on a normative role within Christian Aid's thinking; vulnerable because its static nature quickly undermines its relevance in the face of the rapidly changing shape of Christian Aid's identity. Where shifts in explicit theological thinking have occurred, they have been instituted slowly. There was a two-year hiatus, for example, between the 2010 *Theology and International Development* report, and the 2012 report in which the criticisms of the 2010 report – namely that it did not draw on the voices of poor communities to construct a theology of development for Christian Aid – were addressed. Characterising explicit theology as formal and inaccessible and implicit theology as informal and accessible is perhaps an over-simplification; but it reflects the way in which Christian Aid staff, staff of sponsoring churches and volunteers engage with both theologies. It is in identifying the gaps between the explicit theology (what Christian Aid says is its theology of development) and the implicit theology (the theology developed at a subliminal level of reflection and dialogue) that a future theological direction for Christian Aid may emerge.

Christian Aid's implicit theologies are diverse but they carry recognisable commonalities and themes. This makes the category of implicit theologies a coherent discourse in its own right, rather than a set of disparate ideas ranged around common concerns. Drawing meaning from the day-to-day work of Christian

[310] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:24: 05 – 0:25:12; Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 0:17:54 – 0:18:38; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:17:04 – 0:17:32.

Aid rather than imposing meanings on it, the implicit theology is united by the same key themes and ideas that underpin the explicit theology: partnership; the dignity and worth of all people; and inclusivity. However, the lens used to understand these concepts in the implicit context is very different to that used by the explicit theology. Scripture, the thinking of prominent theologians (particularly Karl Barth[311]) and the work of notable development theorists (particularly Amartya Sen[312]) form the frame of reference that has shaped Christian Aid's explicit theology. By contrast, in their own, personal interpretation and experience, interviewees referenced the life, ministry and acts of Jesus; their personal engagement with liberation theologies and progressive Christian thinkers (the likes of Walter Wink and Richard Rohr); and their own experience of working on development projects for Christian Aid, rather than formal development theory.

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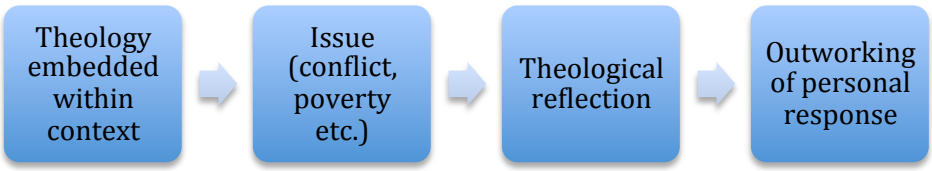
311 This chapter has already noted that the interpretation of Barth's work contained within Christian Aid's explicit theology is partial, focusing upon the relational elements of Barth's theology. In particular, the explicit theology draws on the idea of the relationship of humans with God modeling ideal relationship, which should be replicated between human and human for flourishing upon earth to proceed. Jesus plays a crucial role in brokering the relationship between humans and God upon which all other relationships are founded. This understanding of Barth's theology is repeatedly referred to within the various papers which make up Christian Aid's explicit theology, but other elements of Barth's work that do not fit quite so neatly into a theology of development founded upon 'right relationships' are ignored. Of course, it would be impossible to create a theology of development that speaks to all elements of Barth's theology, but elements that are integral to Barth's understanding of relationship are not taken into account. These include the concept of divine command, which features so prominently within Barth's conception of human relations with God (Nigel Biggar, *The Hastening that Waits: Karl Barth's ethics.* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, 14); and the particular understandings Barth expressed of gender relationships (particularly those of marriage and homosexual relationship) that directly contradict Christian Aid's understanding of gender relations, gender equality and sexual equality. (See, for example, Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics III.4.* T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1961, 118.) The interpretation of Barthian conceptions of relationship that features in general terms in Christian Aid's explicit theology is reasonable; but ignoring the ramifications of both the divine command and the specific rights and wrongs of particular relationships outlined by Barth is problematic within a theology that claims to look to Barth for both its structure and theological inspiration.

312 Christian Aid's explicit theology references the work of Amartya Sen, Sabina Alkire, and Martha Nussbaum in developing the capabilities approach, and that of Des Gaspar in criticising the approach as focusing too heavily upon individual choice. The analysis which is offered, drawing upon the work of these thinkers, builds a picture of how Christian Aid understands poverty. In particular, the capabilities approach is cited within the explicit theology as a source of inspiration for Christian Aid's commitment to tackling the root causes of poverty, rather than the day-to-day symptoms. Problematically, however, the suggestion is contained within the explicit theology that the capabilities approach takes into account spiritual dimensions of poverty, which is a misreading of Sen and Nussbaum's work, in particular. "Absolute poverty is seen as having both material and social dimensions and, arguably, a spiritual dimension as well. And the objective of development is to reduce poverty in a way that is more than simply handing out money to the poorest people. It needs to address [the] question of capabilities and enable people to achieve them." (Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 7.) The explicit theology then goes on to explore how the capabilities approach supports a rights-based framework of development, such as that to which Christian Aid subscribes. The presence of such thinkers as Sen, Alkire and Nussbaum within the 2010 theology report is called into question by their absence from the 2012 report, which, in drawing upon the thinking of Christian Aid staff and partners in the global South, references liberation theology rather than the capabilities approach as the foremost influence driving the theological reflection of those most directly involved in delivering Christian Aid's work within poor communities. (Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 16 – 22.)

Again, points of confluence are apparent, but the differences between these two sets of influence cannot be ignored. Personal contextualisation is key to interviewees' implicit theologies,[313] whereas contextual theology only receives glancing reference in Christian Aid's explicit theology. The personal contextualisation that characterises implicit theologies is concerned both with personal theological formation and personal involvement in Christian Aid's projects overseas – which seven interviewees[314] considered to be one and the same thing. One interviewee, describing how his work in parts of Africa shaped his implicit theological understanding of Christian Aid, said "Some of the partners that I've met across the continent are asking the question: what does it mean to be a Christian in this context? Whether that's issues of conflict, issues of poverty, the whole spectrum of things that we're working on. Without an elaborately articulated theology, [they] are bringing their faith to bear on that context."[315] Reflections like this, bringing together experiences of working with international partners and theological formation, abounded not only among staff, but among representatives of Christian Aid's sponsoring churches.[316] Personal reflection on action is considered central to understanding Christian Aid's work, both by those who carry out the work directly and by those who support it, in various permutations of the following process:

Diagram 4:



[313] Interview 2, September 7, 2012; Interview 5, September 25, 2012; Interview 7, October 8, 2012; Interview 8, October 18, 2012; Interview 10, October 29, 2012; Interview 12, November 7, 2012; Interview 13, November 8, 2012; Interview 14, November 12, 2012; Interview 19, December 4, 2012; Interview 21, December 14, 2012; Interview 22, January 15, 2013; Interview 26, February 26, 2013; Interview 27, May 7, 2013; Interview 28, May 9, 2013; Interview 29, May 14, 2013; Interview 30, June 7, 2013. Interviewees spoke at length about the ways in which their personal faith journey had led them to Christian Aid, contextualising the theology of development they had come to hold implicitly within their broader theological formation. Timecodes are not given due to the length and recurrence of references to this theme within interviews.

[314] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:32:30 – 0:32:48; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:40:22 – 0:42:10; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:26:02 – 0:27:54; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:19:32 – 0:19:51; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:12:13 – 0:12:51; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:19:07 – 0:22:31; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:16:07 – 0:16:35.

[315] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:12:51 – 0:13:16.

[316] Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:14:23 – 0:16:12; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:08 – 0:22:36.

Interviewees who spoke about this process (such as Interviewee 22, previously quoted) expressed their admiration for those (such as Christian Aid's partners) who have embedded theology in their work, but lamented the fact that Christian Aid in the UK has failed to do so. Almost all interviewees said they draw on their personal theological reflection in responding to particular issues,[317] but did not feel that Christian Aid's explicit theology was sufficiently embedded to inform either personal or organisational responses.

The person of Jesus and his political acts were a central influence in the implicit theologies discussed by nine interviewees,[318] and were identified by five interviewees[319] as null theologies within the organisation's discourse. Although scripture plays a central role in Christian Aid's explicit theology of development, the Christology included in its analysis is very much a Christology from above, focusing on divinity rather than Christ's humanity. The humanity of Christ, however, was of huge importance to the interviewees' implicit theologies – aspects of which could be considered null. One reason for this is that liberation thought – within which Jesus stands alongside the poor in acts of divine solidarity – is central in implicit theologies.[320] Liberation theology is considered to be of relevance, but not of significance, within Christian Aid's explicit theology,[321] which does not emphasise Jesus's role of standing with the poor and sharing their experience.[322] It

[317] Interview 2, September 7, 2012; Interview 5, September 25, 2012; Interview 7, October 8, 2012; Interview 8, October 18, 2012; Interview 10, October 29, 2012; Interview 12, November 7, 2012; Interview 13, November 8, 2012; Interview 14, November 12, 2012; Interview 19, December 4, 2012; Interview 21, December 14, 2012; Interview 22, January 15, 2013; Interview 26, February 26, 2013; Interview 27, May 7, 2013; Interview 28, May 9, 2013; Interview 29, May 14, 2013; Interview 30, June 7, 2013.
[318] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:26:09 – 0:27:20; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:12:57 – 0:13:59; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:20:31 – 0:20:57; Interview 18, November 20, 2012, 0:13:42 – 0:14:07; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:12 – 0:37:31; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:02:18 – 0:03:14; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:24 – 0:22:51; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:49 – 0:04:19.
[319] Interview 1, August 21, 2012 0:05:21 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:28:15 – 0:28:54; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:07 – 0:10:55; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:21:14 – 0:21:38.
[320] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:25:12 – 0:25:32; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:23:42 – 0:23:55; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:07:42 – 0:08:12; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:28:07 – 0:29:41; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:03:32 – 0:03:57.
[320] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:25:12 – 0:25:32; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:23:42 – 0:23:55; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:21:07 – 0:21:52. See also Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 7.
[321] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 19; and Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 26, which states: "We mustn't lose sight of the fact that the starting point [of liberation thought] is the person who suffers and reflection comes out of the sufferer's story. Liberation theology therefore complements relational theology, which examines both parties to the relationship."
[322] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 11 and 27-9.

places greater emphasis on Jesus' miracles as a means of 'restoring' relationships[323] and on the relational aspect of God as revealed through Christ.[324] In contrast, Jesus is understood within the implicit theologies of interviewees as a radical figure, who challenged and dismantled the power structures of his day,[325] and who issues a challenge to those who hold power in our own world today. Speaking about the hostility towards faith-based development both in the development sector as a whole and at Christian Aid, one interviewee suggested that the challenge to power embodied in Jesus is a real and potent force. "Here is this figure of Christ, you don't want to call him [by name], because this guy could destabilise your whole operation. Is that how it's got in the NGO world?... A Christ-centred approach, or a faith-centred approach, presents equality and equity. [We shouldn't be] afraid to release that."[326] The contrast between the Christology from above of the explicit theology and the Christology from below of the implicit theologies articulated by interviewees is a clear dichotomy, particularly as power and power analyses form a central component of the latter, but are omitted altogether from the former.

The 'unnamed' presence of Jesus is a powerful influence within faith-based development, as understood by the interviewee quoted above. This suggests that beyond the different understandings of explicit and implicit theologies concerning Jesus' role, aspects of it are altogether unspoken within both of these discourses at Christian Aid. The category of 'null' theologies was established to listen to the silences within Christian Aid's theological discourses, and draw the subjects of these silences into the open. The differences in interpretation and articulation between Christian Aid's implicit and explicit theologies of development already indicate where these lacunae lie. Taking the thinking articulated within the implicit discourse further involves exploring what could be considered the null elements of Christian Aid's theological discourse. The acts of Jesus, which a number of staff reflected on at length,[327] provide a far more radical approach to dealing with inequality than Christian Aid is willing to assume. Could the lacuna created in Christian Aid's theology of development by the political Jesus, if embraced and

[323] Ibid, 27.
[324] Ibid, 12.
[325] Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:49 – 0:04:19.
[326] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:13:06 – 0:16:04.
[327] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:25:12 – 0:25:32; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:23:42 – 0:23:55; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:07:42 – 0:08:12; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:28:07 – 0:29:41; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:03:32 – 0:03:57.

explored as part of Christian Aid's theological discourse, take the organisation's development work in a new and more dynamic direction?

In listening to, and interpreting, Christian Aid's null theologies, the impact and residual influence of the organisation's previous secular strategy cannot be underestimated. During this secular period, staff talked about and reflected on God, Jesus and the Church, but were discouraged from placing these subjects at the center of the life of the organisation.[328] This may partly account for the lack of knowledge among staff about the organisation's explicit theology. All theological discourse apart from the explicit was made null during this time. When this study took place, immediately following the dismantling of the secular strategy, many implicit theologies were still under construction, and a significant number of null theologies remained. In the next section we will therefore examine the primary data that discusses and exposes elements of Christian Aid's previous secular strategy; the impact it had upon theological discourse, reflection and action; and the changes resulting from the return to a faith identity.

3. CHRISTIAN AID'S PREVIOUS SECULAR STRATEGY

As Section 4 of Chapter One has already outlined, Christian Aid's history is inextricably linked to that of the Protestant Churches in the UK. Born of the Church's desire to extend love and assistance to people left homeless, hungry and destitute by WWII, Christian Aid is an ecumenical organisation which, for many years, operated under a deeply Christian, if broadly liberal and always inclusive, agenda. The influence of the churches on Christian Aid's formation and life as a development organisation is reflected in its historical record. This is available in précis on the organisation's website[329] and in greater depth in the organisational archive and in published works such as Janet Lacey's *A Cup of Water: The story of Christian Aid*.[330]

What is not revealed in these formal histories is the organisation's shift away from the churches in an attempt to compete with secular development agencies for a broader supporter-base. This shift was so recent that it provides a constant point of

[328] Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:04:35 – 0:05:07; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:01:44 – 0:04:40; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:08:12 – 0:08:49.
[329] 'Christian Aid's History.' www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/ who/history/index.aspx. Viewed 17 June 2012.
[330] Janet Lacey, *A Cup of Water: The story of Christian Aid*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1970.

reference for Christian Aid's current staff in their daily work and in their reflection on this work. It is described in the subjective personal accounts of the fieldwork element of this research. The section which follows, therefore, charts the most recent history of Christian Aid, picking up where Chapter One left off, albeit using very different sources gathered under very different circumstances. These contributions offer a rich and multi-layered view of a crucial period of Christian Aid's history and identity. Subjective as these accounts may be, they cannot be ignored when exploring the current status of the organisation, whether from a theological or a sociological viewpoint.

Christian Aid's last marketing and communication strategy – implemented in the first years of the 21st century and brought to a close in 2011 – specifically targeted secular rather than church-going audiences.[331] Its impact on staff, volunteers and supporters has been significant. When asked a general opening question about their time working for or associated with Christian Aid, half of those interviewed – 15 people in total – spoke at length about the organisation's secular outlook and strategy. Five questioned the strategy on pragmatic grounds, asking how effective a secular identity could be in a highly competitive marketplace;[332] six felt that a secular identity was a betrayal of the organisation's identity and purpose;[333] and four expressed frustration and disappointment that this approach had a detrimental effect on Christian Aid's relationship with the churches in the UK and Ireland.[334] "The times when I felt really unhappy about Christian Aid's lack of faith was not when it affected me but when it was affecting the organisation and our

[331] Interview 1, 21 August 2012, 0:13:10- 0:13:24; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:15:58 – 0:19:13; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:11:04 – 0:11:42 and 0:26:48 – 0:26:59; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:02:16 – 0:09: 24; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:06:40 – 0:06:57; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:15:07 – 0:15:48; Interview 7, October 8 2012, 0:02:42 – 0:06:30; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:19:43 – 0:20:07; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:11:53 – 0:12:59; Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:04:07 – 0:08:57; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:01:29 – 0:02:04; Interview 19, December 4, 2012, 0:00:01 – 0:01:52; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:10:18 – 0:10:43; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:08:14 – 0:08:45; and Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:06:02 – 0:06:38. It is interesting to note that these 15 interviewees are all UK-based staff of the organisation, or staff of Christian Aid's sponsoring churches. No international staff raised this issue, nor did any Christian Aid supporters.

[332] Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:02:50 – 0:03:14; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:29:04 – 0:30:12; Interview 10, October 29, 0:04:29 – 0:04:50; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:22:03 – 0:22:44; and Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:04:03 – 0:04:48.

[333] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:17:13 – 0:17:47; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:06:40 – 0:07:12; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:08:52 – 0:09:38; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:05:28 – 0:05:44; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:11:53 – 0:12;49; and Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:06:02 – 0:07:57.

[334] Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:13:02 – 0:14:50; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:08:14 – 0:09:17; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:09:09 – 0:10:12; and Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:23:18 – 0:24:44.

relationship with supporters and churches."[335] Two interviewees employed by Christian Aid's sponsoring churches echoed this view,[336] suggesting that this period of the organisation's history marked a low point in what they had previously considered a successful partnership. "We went through a pretty rocky time, and it was deeply disappointing, very hurtful, actually, for those of us who had been pretty centrally involved in Christian Aid for such a long time… It just seemed as if Christian Aid had gone off the rails."[337] During this 'rocky time' a number of churches felt they had been sidelined by the very organisation they had established. This disenchantment moved two of Christian Aid's sponsoring churches, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, to bring a vote of no confidence to the organisation's 2009 Annual General Meeting (AGM). A Church of England staff member attributed the incident to "this feeling that Christian Aid was beginning to lose its faith-based core. And I think it was in conversations with the Church of Scotland where [the Church of England decided to] table a vote of no-confidence."[338]

The 2009 AGM is now understood by both staff of Christian Aid and of the churches involved as the moment the organisation became aware of the impact of its marketing and communications strategy. "I think there was a bit of a wake-up call within Christian Aid. I think it was a bit of a shock."[339] From that nadir in 2009 when, according to one staff member, editorial policy ruled that no Christian Aid publication would mention God,[340] the organisation has gradually rebuilt trust with its church constituency and found renewed confidence in its Christian identity. Although many cited the 2009 AGM as the turning point, it was not until 2011 that the organisation's leadership stated openly that Christian Aid was reclaiming its Christian identity. It is crucial to note, however, that the impact of this period of an imposed secular identity can still be perceived in the organisation's theological reticence.[341] Throughout this project it was evident that the confidence of Christian

[335] Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:13:02 – 0:14:18.
[336] Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:09:20 – 0:09:44; and Interview 29, May 14, 2013 0:06:02 – 0:07:12.
[337] Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:06:02 – 0:07:12.
[338] Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:09:20 – 0:09:42.
[339] Ibid, 0:10:20 – 0:10:32.
[340] "Around the time when we were starting to say, ok, how do we extend our reach out to wider audiences? The low point of that was, in editorial policy, we don't mention the God word." Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:05:07 – 0:05:32.
[341] Throughout the 17 months between July 2012 and November 2013, during which the fieldwork gathering the data for this project was undertaken, no clear and unambiguous reference was made in external publications to Christian Aid's explicit relational theology, or to the theological understanding of development held by the organisation more broadly. This is not to say that overtly

Aid staff in their ability to discuss theological concepts and communicate them to supporters was growing,[342] but this process was still in its early stages.

According to ten[343] of those staff members and staff of sponsoring churches involved in the rude awakening of 2009, new leadership at Christian Aid has played a key role in rebuilding damaged relationships and re-forming the organisation as a confidently Christian entity with a meaningful place in the global church. The churches of the UK and Ireland are now regarded as the primary audience for all of Christian Aid's supporter communications[344] – meaning that, among other changes, God is now mentioned.[345] In addition, there is a greater emphasis on Christian Aid's partnerships with church organisations involved in delivering development projects across Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean.[346] Nine interviewees[347] (almost one-third of the total) expressed overt relief that the organisation had re-oriented itself as a faith-based entity. But this relief was tempered in the case of two interviewees by anger that such destructive strategies were implemented and followed for so many years before the damage was

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Christian resources reflecting upon development issues were not produced – prayers, sermon notes and other worship resources were made available to supporters on a regular basis. But these resources were based on a filtered view of Christian Aid's explicit theology, and on implicit understandings of Christian Aid's theology of development. It is not considered the function of Christian Aid's worship materials to expound overtly on the organisation's theological framework of development.

[342] Examples of staff making tentative statements about Christian Aid's theology, or claiming that the organisation needed to develop a stronger theological position to enable staff to explore this with confidence, were observed during Observation Session 3, July 5, 2012, 0:37:10 – 0:37:58; Observation Session 5, August 23, 2012, 0:05:25 – 0:06:06; Observation Session 6, September 27, 2012, 0:02:56 – 0:04:42 and 0:10:23 – 0:13:03; and Observation Session 12, October 30, 2012, 0:11:43 – 0:15:26.

[343] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:19:20 – 0:20:29; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:26:48 – 0:27:51; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:08:14 – 0:08:32; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:06:40 – 0:07:21; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:15:07 – 0:15:40; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:05:52 – 0:06:08; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:19:43 – 0:20:39; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:08:47 – 0:18:59; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:14:37 – 0:15:02; and Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:10:29 – 0:12:12.

[344] Christian Aid*, Christian Aid's Target Market*. Christian Aid internal document, 2012.

[345] In addition to God holding a central place within Christian Aid church resources, there are five references to God in *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*, Christian Aid's strategic framework 2012 onwards, 4, 5, 14, 26.

[346] Interview 9, October 24, 2012, 0:23:17 – 0:26:02; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:24:21 – 0:29:15; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:14:57 – 0:16:02; and Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:33:43 – 0:37:07.

[347] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:19:20 – 0:20:29; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:42:36 – 0:44:04; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:05:49 – 0:06:24; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:52:04 – 0:52:37: "At one level this could well have been our Kairos moment. A number of things happened to be in the right place at the right time. The spirit moves within that." Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:19:43 – 0:20:39; Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:05:35 – 0:05:52, "All of them mentioned it was nice to see that Christian Aid was coming back towards the churches again." Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:08:04 – 0:08:17: "I guess I'm still here because I think we're now on an upswing. I want to be engaging with that and if we weren't, I wouldn't be here anymore. So, I feel like we've pulled back from the brink on that." Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:10:29 – 0:12:12; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:07:02: "People feel that they've got their Christian Aid back again, if you know what I mean."

recognised.[348] One of these interviewees also reflected upon the reasons why the previous leadership had adopted this secular approach. The interviewee recalled a conversation in which an outgoing senior staff member from the secular period said that Christian Aid was not a Christian organisation because it did not have the ability to undertake inner reflection at an organisational level. In contrast, the interviewee believes the current leadership is "up for that journey for the organisation" and is "committed to… taking the organisation on that journey of reflection."[349] Half of all interviewees expressed a similar view that the previous leadership were culpable for the breakdown in relations with churches, and that the current leadership have been responsible for rebuilding them.[350]

However, one interviewee – a long-standing senior staff member who had worked closely with both the previous and the current leadership – saw the situation as being less clear cut. He suggested that the breakdown in relations with the churches was not just a matter of Christian Aid neglecting its core church supporter-base, but also of negative and outdated attitudes towards Christian Aid held by the churches themselves.[351] He refuted the idea that the current leadership

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[348] "[The previous leadership] didn't see [Church relationships] as important, or assumed it and therefore didn't put any effort into maintaining it or managing it. But basically, in the 60-year history of Christian Aid, I would say [the previous] leadership was — I'm not going to approach it quite like that, but basically, in those years, we lost the plot." Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:08:52. Also Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:03:49 – 0:04:55.

[349] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:04:55 – 0:05:27.

[350] Interview 1, 21 August 2012, 0:13:10 – 0:13:49: "[The previous leadership] believed that the majority of Christian Aid supporters were not Christian… and were not interested in faith-based development." When asked where the shift in faith orientation had come from, interviewee 1 responded (0:37:25): "[The current leadership] and the Board." Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:08:14 – 0:09:37: "This feeling that Christian Aid was beginning to lose its faith-based core… The personalities [of the leadership] involved – both [the Director] and [the Associate Director]… [displayed a] lack of creativity, lack of proper engagement, taking the churches for granted." When asked where the shift in faith orientation had come from, interviewee 23 responded (0:10:29 – 0:10:46): "I would say that the change of personnel [leadership] at Christian Aid opened up a fresh opportunity and I think [the current Director] has been wonderful in that sense." Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:15:07 – 0:16:38: "I think – there's been a desire to change within the organisation for some time, but I think [the current leadership] unlocked it, where say [the previous leadership] was closing it down." Comparable comments on the previous leadership causing the rupture with churches, and the current leadership working to heal the rupture, were made by Interviewee 2, September 7, 2012, 0:15:58 – 0:19:13; Interviewee 3, September 12, 2012, 0:11:04 and 0:26:48; Interviewee 4, September 17, 2012, 0:02:16 – 0:09: 24; Interviewee 5, September 25, 2012, 0:06:40; Interviewee 7, October 8 2012, 0:02:42 – 0:06:30; Interviewee 8, October 18, 2012, 0:19:43; Interviewee 10, October 29, 2012, 0:11:53 – 0:12:59; Interviewee 13, November 8, 2012, 0:04:07 – 0:08:57; Interviewee 16, November 28, 2012, 0:01:29 – 0:01:47; and Interviewee 22, January 15, 2013, 0:10:18 – 0:10:44.

[351] "Apart from the fact that we lost the ability to communicate [with the churches], there was also a very active lobby [made up of Anglican mission agencies] on the other side that said 'Christian Aid is not Christian anymore. Why should you give money to them? They are just pushing us out of the market.'" Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:28:47 – 0:29:30. One other interviewee supported the view that there was responsibility on both sides for the crisis, saying "It's a two-way street. Why do you think Christian Aid ever had to think about reaching another audience? Because the churches weren't supportive enough. I think there's probably a truth to that." Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:06:04 – 0:06:49.

have been wholly responsible for the restoration of both Christian Aid's relationships with the churches and the organisation's faith identity. "That was a wrong assumption. [The previous leadership] does not always get credit for that. I think [the previous Director] was the first to be aware of something that was wrong and had to change. He started to initiate changes, but that really came to fruition once [the new Director] arrived."[352] Interviewees attributed fault for the breakdown in relations with the UK churches to Christian Aid or to both Christian Aid and the churches; but in many ways this distinction is no longer relevant. It is the process of rebuilding both those relationships and the Christian identity of the organisation that is of greatest interest to this study.

Key to this rejuvenation has been the ability of Christian Aid's leadership to instill confidence in the organisation's staff and the staff of sponsoring churches, both that the relationship with the churches is strong and that Christian Aid understands itself as a Christian organisation once again. One interviewee said that the shift since the 2009 AGM is "not just about target market, it is a renewed confidence in what our corporate faith is. And even though those [staff] who are of faith may not agree with all of the faith statements and the theology at Christian Aid, we feel that, as a corporate body, Christian Aid is confident."[353] Staff who participated in a feedback session on the data gathered in the fieldwork stage of this study reiterated the view that Christian Aid's renewed confidence in its faith identity has been key to restoring its relationship with the churches.[354] "We lost confidence in who we were as Christian Aid, which is why we moved into a more secular way of speaking."[355] Although confidence has, to a large extent, been restored, Christian Aid is still re-forming itself around a new – or renewed – identity. The impact of the secular strategy has been so significant that fewer than one-quarter of the 30 interviewees did not raise it as a key factor in Christian Aid's theological expression.[356] This suggests that one of the reasons that different

[352] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:24:27 – 0:24:44.
[353] Interview 5, September 25, 212, 0:05:49 – 0:06:14.
[354] Observation session 22, June 24, 2013.
[355] Observation 22, June 24, 2013, 0:05:38 – 0:06:42.
[356] Interview 9, October 24, 2012; Interview 15, November 22, 2012; Interview 17, November 30, 2012; Interview 20, December 5, 2012; Interview 21, December 14, 2012; Interview 25, February 4, 2013; Interview 30, June 7, 2013. Overwhelmingly, UK-based staff of Christian Aid, and staff of Christian Aid's sponsoring churches, raised the impact of the secular strategy in interviews. Those who did not were almost all either staff based in international offices, or UK supporters. The former group of interviewees are not concerned with the ways in which Christian Aid communicates with supporters in the UK, as their focus is on delivering programmes; and the latter group may have noticed a distancing of Christian Aid from its faith roots in the language used in resources, but were otherwise unaware that, during this period, Christian Aid considered non-church donors to be the

theological voices interact in tension with one another within Christian Aid is the lingering influence of a strategy that tightly constrained theological articulation to maintain an appearance of secular identity.

In analysing the data on Christian Aid's previous secular identity, we need to take into account the timeframe in which it was gathered. The fieldwork stage of the project took place between July 2012 and November 2013 – beginning three years after the AGM of 2009, and 18 months after new leadership brought new energy and impetus to the process of restoring Christian Aid's faith identity. This data was therefore gathered at a time when the organisation was "betwixt and between"[357] its previous and its current identity – in a liminal phase on the threshold of a new way of working. At such times, ambiguity and disorientation are felt where once there was certainty and a fixed identity. Hierarchies, traditions and plans for the future are thrown into doubt, before being re-fixed within the new identity and *modus operandi*.[358] Christian Aid's liminal period lasted for over a year, both prior to and immediately following this study's fieldwork phase. Therefore, the views expressed by interviewees should be read within this very particular context.

4. CHRISTIAN AID'S IDENTITY

For many years, a central tenet of organisational studies asserted that the identity of organisations – particularly of those that were by any measure successful – was fixed, central to the organisation's focus, and would endure into the long-term.[359] However, a more recent school of thought suggests that fluidity and dynamism in an organisation's identity can be crucial in allowing it to adapt to change, rather than destabilising its self-perception, external perception and success, as had previously been thought.[360] Christian Aid offers an interesting case-study of these theories. It has undertaken significant shifts in identity (from faith-based, to secular and back again), first in an attempt to adapt to the perceived waning of its supporter-base – the churches – and then in the realisation that this supporter-base was in fact its most valuable asset. According to recent organisational theory,

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organisation's target market. One other consideration is that supporters didn't feel they had the right to criticise Christian Aid, even implicitly, by talking about their perceptions of the secular period.

[357] Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.* Cornell University Press, Cornell, 1967, 93.

[358] Ibid, 93-4.

[359] Stuart Albert and David A. Whetton, 'Organisational Identity.' *Research in Organisational Behaviour,* 7, 1985, 263-4.

[360] Dennis A. Gioia, Majken Schultz and Kevin G. Corley, 'Organisational Identity, Image and Adaptive Instability.' *Academy of Management Review,* 25:1, 2000, 63.

this fluidity could demonstrate a crucial ability to adapt to changing circumstances and to successfully re-shape identity accordingly. This section will present data exploring the key shifts in Christian Aid's identity over recent years. It will show how these shifts have been driven by or enacted in response to theological reflection on Christian Aid's identity and work. The data presented in the conclusion to each sub-section, provides key markers of the significance of each aspect of Christian Aid's identity, and how these aspects will be dealt with in Chapter Three.

As the last section made clear, the process of re-framing Christian Aid as a church-oriented Christian organisation has taken place over a period of years. It began after the AGM of 2009 and gathered momentum in 2011-12, when the most significant shifts in identity took place. In September 2011 the Christian Aid Board approved a document entitled *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*,[361] which was designed to formalise internally the organisation's shift towards a stronger faith orientation. In November of the same year, a staff conference was held to introduce the organisation's new strategy, *Partnership for Change,* a document that asserts: "Our work is founded on the Good News lived and proclaimed by Jesus; it is inspired by hope and sustained by faith. The work of Christian Aid is a way of living out the sacrificial love of God in Jesus."[362] This signaled a significant departure from the organisation's previous strategy, which focused upon a rights-based analysis of poverty without drawing to any significant extent upon the faith basis of the organisation to inform the strategy.[363] During 2011 and early 2012, therefore, Christian Aid's identity was formally re-aligned with the organisation's faith roots, but debate continues among staff and sponsoring churches as to whether or not the organisation's key influences lie within the Churches and Christian understandings of poverty. This section aims to determine which influences upon Christian Aid's identity are considered of greatest significance within the explicit, implicit and null discourses, and how these theological discourses themselves have the potential to influence Christian Aid's identity.

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[361] This document opens with the statement "Our work to see Poverty Over, that the world can and must be changed, is founded on our Christian faith." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity.* Christian Aid internal document, 2011, 1.
[362] Christian Aid*, Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 5.
[363] God is mentioned twice in Christian Aid's previous strategy, Jesus not at all. Christian Aid, *Turning Hope into Action: A vision of a world free from poverty.* Christian Aid Strategic Framework 2010-12, Christian Aid, 2009, 4 and 6.

4.1. The Influences on Christian Aid's Identity

The interviews and observations undertaken as part of this research find no clear consensus on what the predominant influence on Christian Aid's identity is, or should be. However, two-thirds of interviewees[364] considered the churches of the UK and Ireland, as the bodies that together established Christian Aid, to be the major influence over the organisation's identity, despite the breakdown in relationship which culminated in the 2009 AGM. One long-serving staff member said Christian Aid has been "given a mandate by the churches and our role is to fulfill that mandate… Personally, I don't *entirely* agree with our articulation, but if it came down to whether everything we say and do must have a Christian expression or not, I would come down on: we have a mandate, this is our mandate, this is our work."[365] Participants from sponsoring churches echoed this view, claiming that Christian Aid is part of the churches in the UK and Ireland. A leader of a small Protestant federation of churches articulated his belief that: "Clearly, Christian Aid has always been both associated implicitly, but also by the fact that it is the churches' aid and development agency. So, in a sense, Christian Aid is part of what we are as Christians in this country."[366] Supporters also felt that the influence of churches, and in particular the British churches' ownership of Christian Aid, is crucial to the organisation's identity. One long-term supporter stated that it is "very important that one can point out that this is the organisation for the British churches and that it's a following through of the gospel message. I think it's very important that within our churches we support Christian Aid."[367] Not only are the churches a crucial influence on Christian Aid's identity, but in the eyes of a number of those interviewed, Christian Aid is a vital element of what it means to be a

[364] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:17:13 – 0:18:18; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:42:36 – 0:44:04; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:18:33 – 0:20:38; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:07:06 – 0:07:59; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:06:40 – 0:08:21; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:09:53 – 0:11:31; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:48:39 – 0:49:57; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:00:28 – 0:02:04; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:05:24 – 0:05:52; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:15:07 – 0:15:52; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:33:43 – 0:37:07; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:22:07 – 0:24:12; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:01:32 – 0:01:43; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:21:05 – 0:21:15; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:05:28 – 0:07:01; Interview 25, February 4, 2013, 0:09:10 – 0:10:53; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:12:18 – 0:12:29; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:09:18 – 0:09:57; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:04:09 – 0:04:22; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:33:07 – 0:34:01. In addition to these 20 interviewees who explicitly referenced the churches as the major influence on Christian Aid, a further three interviewees couched their responses to questions so specifically in the context and the language of the church, that the inference could justifiably be drawn that they implicitly understand the churches to be the major influence on Christian Aid. These three interviews were: Interview 17, November 30, 2012; Interview 19, December 4, 2012; and Interview 21, 14 December 2012.

[365] Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:18:33 – 0:19:07.

[366] Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:01:32 – 0:01:57.

[367] Interview 25, February 4, 2013, 0:09:10 – 0:09:44.

Christian in the UK. So Christian Aid and its sponsoring churches both influence, and are influenced by, each other. This reciprocity is a key element of the concept of partnership through which many interviewees expressed the relationship between Christian Aid and the churches.

One interviewee, who works in one of Christian Aid's international country offices, suggested that Christian Aid's identity is not only formed and shaped by the institution of the British and Irish churches, but by the individuals within the churches, who support the organisation with gifts of time, money, energy and prayer. "I have visited many people, [and] was *so* inspired by the faith in action. And I realised: it's all ordinary people, not extraordinary people who give money to us."[368] This insight helps us understand how 41 different denominations could consider a single organisation to be 'theirs'. The unity in action, of which the WCC was so enamoured but so rarely managed to embody, happens at grassroots level in local churches that support Christian Aid. 'Ordinary people' are able to set aside doctrinal differences to support an organisation which is 'theirs' – whether they're part of the Church of England, the Baptist Union, or any other denomination involved in the work of Christian Aid.

For more than one-third of interviewees[369] (particularly Christian Aid staff working internationally[370]) Christian Aid's identity is also influenced by the international church partners who deliver development work funded by Christian Aid. Many staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches consider such churches to be Christian Aid's "natural partners,"[371] because of Christian Aid's genesis within the churches of the UK. "There is a natural sense that our supporter base would feel a natural affinity with church-based partners in Africa, or [elsewhere in] the world. I think that therefore they're natural partners in a way that is different from say *any*

[368] Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:07:58 – 0:08:19.
[369] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 1:03:40 – 1:03:57; Interview 9, October 24, 2012, 0:07:48 – 0:08:31; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:24:21 – 0:25:13; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:29:20 – 0:33:02; Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:02:13 – 0:03:35; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:34:07 – 0:37:07; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:19:04 – 0:21:02; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:09:40 – 0:10:31; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:05:28 – 0:07:01; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:17:09 – 0:25:52; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:23:04 – 0:23:57.
[370] Of the 11 interviewees listed above, five were staff either working internationally, or who had worked internationally with church partners in the past. These five interviewees were Interviewee 9; Interviewee 12; Interviewee 13; Interviewee 14; and Interviewee 22.
[371] "I tell my church partners, you are all our natural partners. But the standard is the same for everybody. You are all natural partners, so you can take more if you can." Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:33:04 – 0:33:38.

organisation. Just the DNA could be similar."[372] However, more than one interviewee raised a negative aspect of the influence of church partners. One senior Christian Aid staff member told the story of a significant and well-known international church partner that Christian Aid stopped funding because of governance and management issues. As a result, the partner attempted to exert its influence on Christian Aid through retaliatory behaviour. "They played their cards: 'but we are your church in [X country]', and they [didn't] hesitate to write to their partner diocese in Britain, saying, 'Christian Aid has stopped funding us.'"[373] Many Christian Aid staff think church partners have an influential role, contributing to Christian Aid's identity as a church-based organisation founded on a partnership model. But there is an inherent power imbalance in these relationships because Christian Aid is always able to cut off funding. So church partners can occasionally resort to negative forms of influence in an attempt to redress this imbalance.

One internal influence on Christian Aid's identity, which relates closely to the churches, is the organisation's explicit theology. The 2010 Christian Aid report *Theology and International Development* claims: "Our theology dictates and supports how we work, who we work with and what kind of organisation we are. So at the same time that we are asking ourselves what kind of development we are engaged in, we need to be raising questions about the nature of our theological stance and how best to formulate it."[374] However, almost one-quarter[375] of those interviewed contested the claim that Christian Aid's explicit theology holds a central place in the organisation. They suggest that it is neither widely understood nor widely used to inform and reflect upon the organisation's work. One supporter claimed that: "Very few people see those [theological reports]. Even people who are volunteer teachers and speakers [don't] see them unless they're particularly asked to see them."[376] But this does not mean that the explicit theology is not an influence. One interviewee, already quoted in Section 2 of this chapter, explained that, although the average church-goer may not read and absorb the detail of Christian Aid's explicit theology, they would recognise its broad themes as what they

[372] Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:34:12 – 0:34:52.
[373] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:17:37 – 0:17:59.
[374] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 4.
[375] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:24: 05 – 0:25:12; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:13:39 – 0:15:29; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:09:29 – 0:10:55; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:33:08 – 0:33:57; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:12:59 – 0:14:23; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:05:23 – 0:06:42; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:17:18 – 0:17:53.
[376] Interview 21, 14 December, 2012, 0:15:55 – 0:16:12.

implicitly understand to be the theology of Christian Aid.[377] Is, therefore, the claim the explicit theology makes about its own influence (dictating and supporting the way Christian Aid works) valid? It is possible that this theology underpins the work of the organisation in such a way that staff and supporters have an implicit understanding of it, even though they are not familiar with the formal, published documents, described by some as "difficult"[378] and by others as being completely unknown to them.[379] This chapter will further analyse Christian Aid's explicit theology to explore this question more fully.

All of these sources of influence – churches in the UK, individual church-goers, church partners, and the organisation's explicit theology – play a role in forming Christian Aid's identity. Just as no influence can be disregarded, no single influence is regarded by all as predominant. What is of particular interest is how these influences have changed the nature of Christian Aid's identity: from church to secular and back again. This section will explore what elements of Christian Aid's identity those interviewed considered unique and defining. It will identify how the sources of influence discussed have formed and informed Christian Aid in particular ways.

4.2. The Unique Elements of Christian Aid's Identity

Throughout the 30 interviews and the correlating participant observation sessions underpinning this research, four key aspects of Christian Aid's identity were consistently raised by participants as being either unique, or contributing in a particular way to the formation of Christian Aid's identity. These aspects were articulated as:

1) Christian Aid's prophetic voice
2) inclusivity
3) the inherent dignity of the person
4) partnership.

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[377] Interview 29, 14 May, 2012, 0:17:29 – 0:17:51. "I think it would be fair to say that most people in the pews, most people in congregations, wouldn't read the sometimes quite complex theological position papers that are put out, or documents, or whatever. But if you came along, for instance… and spoke at something, summarising one of these reports, people would recognise that that's the sort of theological direction that they'd been hearing about for years [during] Christian Aid Week."
[378] Interview 21, 14 December, 2012, 0:26:41.
[379] At an observation session involving five staff members who were not interviewed as part of this project, alongside three who were, three of those who were not interviewed asserted that they had never heard of Christian Aid's 'relational' theology and that they didn't understand what this term meant. Observation 23, November 22, 2013, session notes.

These aspects of Christian Aid's identity combine to contribute to the organisation's unique nature, but no single aspect can, objectively, be said to confer on the organisation the distinction of being unique. As this chapter will go on to explore in greater depth, the churches themselves believe they provide a prophetic voice to the wider world. This brings into question the unique role which is, or could be, played by Christian Aid's prophetic voice. The nature of Christian Aid's partnership model as unique is also questionable - many other faith-based development organisations work primarily through partnership, tapping into existing worldwide networks of churches, mosques, temples and other places of worship. CAFOD, for example, delivers development programmes in partnership with churches across the world, forming a network of partners who hold similar values and know their local context and needs.[380] As with Christian Aid, CAFOD's work demonstrates a belief in inclusivity and the inherent dignity of the person, employing and extending assistance to people of all faiths and none.[381]

So it would seem that the four key aspects of Christian Aid's identity are shared by other faith-based development agencies. This chapter will explore each of the four aspects in more depth, shedding light on how each is manifest within Christian Aid's discourse and praxis; why participants identified them as central to the organisation's identity; and whether they are subjectively unique, or similar to those of other faith-based development organisations.

4.2.1. CHRISTIAN AID'S PROPHETIC VOICE

At a December 2013 Christian Aid staff workshop, the following statement by Metropolitan Hilarion of the Russian Orthodox Church was used to open a discussion of Christian Aid's 'prophetic voice':

> We often speak of the prophetic voice of the Churches… Is not one of the most important tasks of the WCC to discern the will of God in the modern-day historical setting and proclaim it to the world? This message, of course,

[380] 'CAFOD: Information for Overseas Partners.' http://www.cafod.org.uk/Work-with-us/Overseas-partners. Viewed 23 August 2014.
[381] Susy Brouard, 'Disclosing CAFOD: Issues around Catholic identity.' Paper submitted for presentation at the 2014 *Ecclesiology and Ethnography: Ecclesial practices* conference, Durham University, 16-18 September 2014, 10.

> would be hard to swallow for the powerful of this world. However, in refusing to proclaim it, we betray our vocation and… we betray Christ.[382]

When Archbishop Hilarion calls on the churches to be prophetic to the world, his understanding of the term 'prophetic' is charactarised by discernment and prediction. His brief exploration of what it means to be prophetic draws on Spinoza's 1670 definition, which states that: "Prophecy, or revelation, is sure knowledge revealed by God to man."[383] Spinoza compared revelation as experienced by Moses and Christ, drawing a distinction between hearing the commands of God, as in the case of Moses, and discerning them through deep understanding of the character of God, the latter being unique to Christ. "If Moses spoke with God face to face as a man speaks with a friend (ie by means of their two bodies), Christ communed with God mind to mind. Thus we may conclude that no one except Christ received the revelations of God without the aid of imagination, whether in words or vision."[384] Therefore, in being prophetic, both the churches and Christian Aid are attempting to hear God's word in two ways: through imagination, in the manner of Moses; and by interpreting the words and actions of Christ, which are the human manifestations on earth of God's transcendent commands. Christian Aid has struggled to be prophetic because it has focused on development itself as a prophetic call to action, rather than on Christ as the means by which God's commands to extend love to others can be discerned and lived out. The Church, meanwhile, has arguably focused on Christ without discerning "the will of God in the modern-day setting."[385] It has perhaps lacked the imagination to detect the relevance and immediacy of Christ's life, teachings and actions. Without attention to Christological influence in Christian Aid's case, or imagination in the case of the Church, the prophetic nature of both has been eclipsed by other aspects their identities. At a time when the churches are eager to reclaim their prophetic calling – as shown in Archbishop Hilarion's call to action – Christian Aid has

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[382] Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk, 'The Voice of the Church Must be Prophetic,' an address at the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Busan, Korea, 1 November 2013. http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/assembly/2013-busan/plenary-presentations/address-by-metropolitan-hilarion-of-volokolamsk?set_language=en. Viewed 10 December 2013.

[383] Benedict de Spinoza, *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza, Vol. 1 (Tractatus-Theologico-Politicus, Tractatus Politicus).* Robert Harvey Monroe Elwes (trans.), George Bell and Sons, London, 1891, 13.

[384] Ibid, 19.

[385] Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk, 'The Voice of the Church Must be Prophetic', an address at the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Busan, Korea, 1 November 2013. http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/assembly/2013-busan/plenary-presentations/address-by-metropolitan-hilarion-of-volokolamsk?set_language=en. Viewed 10 December 2013.

frequently, but somewhat emptily, cast itself in the role of providing a prophetic voice to the churches on international development issues.[386] This section will explore why Christian Aid's claim to be prophetic has become hollow and how this could be rectified through attention to Christ.

The 'prophetic voice' is a fabled element of Christian Aid's identity. It is enshrined within organisational documents such as the current strategy[387] and in internal documents outlining Christian Aid's core beliefs and values.[388] However, all of the references made to Christian Aid's prophetic voice in interviews or observations either reflected on its loss,[389] or made tentative suggestions regarding how the organisation could work with the churches to regain it.[390] Two interviewees, both long-serving staff members, were scathing about Christian Aid's ability to reclaim its prophetic role. They claimed that the organisation's previous secular strategy, and the lingering fear of alienating secular supporters by being perceived as exclusive, may have eroded Christian Aid's ability to be prophetic past the point of no return. "We wanted to be all things to all people and we *can't* be! What's the point of us being all things to all people when we have a prophetic role? You know, we need to say: 'This is wrong! This is against the Good News. This is not of *God!*' Because we have a role to play – we must confront evil and you can't do that by

[386] Christian Aid's current strategy document, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*, twice makes reference to Christian Aid's prophetic role, without ever explicitly stating what this role entails and how the organisation has been mandated to assume it. In justifying the work Christian Aid does with government, corporations and other members of civil society, the strategy claims that "this is not about Christian Aid cosying up to big institutions and losing its prophetic, critical edge. Speaking out about injustice is hard-wired into our movement." (13) Two pages later, again when discussing Christian Aid's work with the private sector, the strategy states that "Christian Aid has a record of exposing unjust trade rules and negative business practice; this is a part of our calling to be prophetic and we will continue to be so. We will positively engage with the private sector – from multinational to village level – in helping to end poverty through enlightened business and the creation of enterprising local markets." (15) These statements both demonstrate that, within organisational documents, Christian Aid's role as a prophetic voice is seen as natural and right. Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 13 and 15.
[387] Ibid.
[388] "Core belief 3: We believe that in addition to our response to profound and immediate human need, advocacy to change the structures that perpetuate poverty and injustice is an important manifestation of our love for our neighbour. Our calling is to be prophetic in our words and actions and we will never be content until poverty is over." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity.* Christian Aid internal document, 2011, 1.
[389] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:10:30 – 0:11:18; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:28:07 – 0:30:41; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:33:04 – 0:33:47; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:18:12 – 0:20:55; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:18:12 – 0:20:55; and Observation 12, October 30, 2012, 0:23:09 – 0:23:48.
[390] Observation 14, December 6, 2012, meeting notes; Observation 16, January 30, 2013, track 3, 0:19:03 – 0:19:26: interviewee 26 discusses nurturing the prophetic insights from Christian Aid's work among clergy, by using theological reflection "to help… [clergy] think about some of the big issues that are at the heart of Christian Aid's concerns and how then those very big issues either are *their* particular vision and commitment – and they can be sustained in maintaining that – *or* in this role as minister, how they can be both pastoral and prophetic to their congregation." Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:15:56 – 0:16:47.

being anodyne, or giving sweets to everybody!"[391] The five staff members[392] who mentioned the prophetic voice expressed a yearning for Christian Aid to demonstrate true discernment and prediction: the purpose for which they believe the churches created the organisation. But the same interviewees also felt that Christian Aid's ability to be prophetic has been submerged in a tide of secular discourse and attitudes, which is yet to fully recede. Christian Aid is "not really fighting the corner and saying the prophetic things. That's completely gone. I think the prophetic voice that we keep talking about, I don't think that exists. It does exist in the gospel and it does exist in the minds and hearts of most of the people who work at Christian Aid, or in the Church. But we've got to recapture that."[393]

Neither of the interviewees who doubted Christian Aid's ability to be prophetic explicitly defined what constitutes the prophetic voice or suggested how it could be recovered. However, both felt that it is the challenging element of Christian Aid's discourse that has been lost. Arguably, it is in such challenge that the will of God may be discerned, in the manner of prophecy as defined by Spinoza. Christian Aid's explicit theology[394] and its strategy documents[395] both assume that the organisation's prophetic role – and therefore the challenging element of its work – is alive and well. The 2010 *Theology and International Development* report defines the prophetic voice using Proverbs 31:8,[396] suggesting that: "A prophetic voice is one that reflects an understanding of what the condition of the destitute should become, and how that change is to be effected… What is particularly distinctive about a prophetic voice is that it is discomforting."[397] Although Christian Aid's explicit theology has a biblically-orientated understanding of the prophetic voice – in many ways aligned with the implicit understandings of staff – it nowhere suggests that it is Jesus' acts that are truly prophetic and inspire just the kind of challenging voice staff want to recapture. Four staff members spoke at length about how Jesus' acts challenged the existing norms and power structures of his day.[398] If

[391] Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:26:48 – 0:27:12.
[392] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:10:30 – 0:11:18; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:28:07 – 0:30:41; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:33:04 – 0:33:47; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:18:12 – 0:20:55; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:18:12 – 0:20:55.
[393] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:19:07 – 0:19:43.
[394] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 21.
[395] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 13 and 15; and Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 1.
[396] "Speak out for those that cannot speak for the rights of all the destitute." Proverbs 31:8.
[397] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 21.
[398] "The dual procession into Jerusalem, Jesus from one direction and the Romans from another – this was a very political act: Jesus is Lord, Caesar is not. So in fact Jesus' passion is a direct challenge to

Christian Aid wants to be the voice that inspires the churches to tackle today's power imbalances, this is surely the way to bring a prophetic edge to that call to action. Jesus' challenges to power are one of the major unstated – or null – elements of Christian Aid's explicit theology. It is their lack of influence on the organisation that may explain why the prophetic voice is proving so difficult to recapture.

During Christian Aid's secular period, it was felt that communicating messages of need on behalf of poor communities was sufficient to move the organisation's audience to take action. The prophetic voice of which so many staff and supporters were so proud was lost within this pragmatic discourse of development, and has yet to be rekindled. It is no longer a key element of the organisation's identity. Applying Spinoza's understanding of prophecy to Christian Aid's context suggests that it is through attention to the life and teachings of Jesus Christ that the will of God can be discerned – and communicated to the churches in a prophetic manner. Without such attention to Christ, Christian Aid risks speaking with an anodyne voice which cannot successfully stir others to action on behalf of the world's poor. It is this ability to stir others, through prophetic words and actions, which so many associated with Christian Aid wish to recapture.

4.2.2. INCLUSIVITY

Like the prophetic voice, inclusivity is considered by many of the Christian Aid staff,[399] supporters[400] and sponsoring churches[401] interviewed to be a core element of the organisation's identity, which sets it apart from others. Half of the 22

Rome. And what does it mean for us to be part of that transformation?" Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-record notes. "We always end up being reformist rather than revolutionary. Despite the fact that I think Jesus wasn't really interested in tweaking about with synagogues." Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:38:32 – 0:38:51. "The beauty of faith is that faith understood will always propel the believer to express their faith. Throughout scripture there are so many places, particularly in the New Testament, and especially in the gospel, Jesus is always saying, in essence, 'Okay, what are you going to do about this then? I was hungry, and you did not feed me.' Or, 'I was hungry, and you fed me.'" Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:57 – 0:22:12. "Christ was… he was not following any religion – he was actually dismantling the religious structures of his time." Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:04:02 – 0:04:19.

[399] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:22:03 – 0:22:14 and 0:29:14 – 0:30:28; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:02:09 – 0:02:50; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:13:39 – 0:15:29; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:11:04 – 0:12:37; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:09:53 – 0:11:31; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:22:37 – 0:25:12; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:02:06 – 0:04:50; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:08:54 – 0:09:27; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:33:42 – 0:34:07; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:16:51 – 0:17:30; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:12:17 – 0:13:02.

[400] Interview 15, November 22, 2012, 0:14:49 – 0:16:11; Interview 17, November 30, 2012, 0:02:57 – 0:03:41; Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 0:16:41 – 0:18:13.

[401] Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:13:11 – 0:14: 02; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:16:22 – 0:17:40; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:08:04 – 0:09:17.

Christian Aid staff interviewees[402] saw the organisation's inclusive approach as a guiding implicit theology, developed by reflecting on Christian Aid's work. One long-serving staff member identified the organisation's role beyond the churches, out in society more broadly, as evidence of its inclusivity. "Christian Aid has always had a kind of inclusive approach. Out of the experience of Christian Aid Week, of going *to* everyone, it's always had that feeling that we're rooted in the churches and driven by the gospel, but Christian Aid's always had a very liberal, inclusive approach to everything it does, including fundraising."[403] A second staff member, who had previously been employed by a more explicitly evangelical Christian development organisation, reflected on Christian Aid's call to be inclusive by drawing upon biblical command. He stated that we are "called to be in the world but not of the world as Christians, and that's how Christian Aid does development."[404] Christian Aid's profile and presence in British society mean it is not a "church-only club", but a major player in development and society more generally.[405] These views are echoed in Christian Aid's explicit theology, which uses John 15:18-19 – the same bible passage quoted by the staff member above – to explain what inclusivity means for Christian Aid: "Essentially, the church is a community that enters into a relationship with other communities, whether internationally or locally. John's gospel teaches us that Christians, and therefore the church, are in, but not of, the world (John 15:18-19) but this does not mean that we are to hold ourselves aloof from the world. It is by the nature of our relationships with the world that we are to be judged."[406] Can an organisation be both inclusive through relationships with communities beyond the church and retain a strong Christian identity?

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[402] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:22:03 – 0:22:14 and 0:29:14 – 0:30:28; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:02:09 – 0:02:50; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:13:39 – 0:15:29; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:11:04 – 0:12:37; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:09:53 – 0:11:31; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:22:37 – 0:25:12; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:02:06 – 0:04:50; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:08:54 – 0:09:27; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:33:42 – 0:34:07; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:16:51 – 0:17:30; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:12:17 – 0:13:02.
[403] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:02:09 – 0:02:57.
[404] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:22:03 – 0:22:14.
[405] Ibid. A similar view was articulated in Interview 22, January 15, 2012, 0:04:58 – 0:05:07, in which the interviewee claimed that Christian Aid "is on the cusp of what it means to be a Christian in the world." David Cameron affirmed the claim that Christian Aid is a major player within British society beyond the churches when he gave a speech listing "three great British institutions" which originated in Scotland – one of these being Christian Aid. David Cameron, Speech on Scottish Independence, Edinburgh, 16 February 2012. http://www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2012/02/united-kingdom-scotland-world. Viewed 14 December 2013.
[406] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 22.

The desire to be inclusive – by raising funds from non-church audiences – drove the secular strategy which frustrated so many staff[407] and threatened to alienate the churches. So to speak of inclusivity as either a component of Christian Aid's explicit theology, or a guiding implicit theology, is somewhat paradoxical. Despite the value placed on inclusivity by many Christian Aid staff, supporters and sponsoring churches, there were those who did not hesitate to point out that an overriding desire to be inclusive in the era leading up to the 2009 AGM caused Christian Aid to "give away part of its own heritage."[408] Many interviewees understood this 'heritage' as pertaining to both Christian Aid's relationships with the churches, and its own theological and reflective life. This heritage ceased to define the organisation's identity and became, in the words of one interviewee, "attenuated"[409] by the demands of adhering to a secular strategy.

However, three interviewees[410] did not define inclusivity as a casting aside of the organisation's Christian identity, but as living through Jesus' example. They believed that going beyond the churches to include others in Christian Aid's work is one way of doing this. The key distinction lies in *going beyond* rather than *leaving aside* the churches, embodying Stanley Hauerwas' idea of mutual dependence between church and world. Christian Aid's explicit theology uses this idea to explore the way in which the organisation relates to the wider world and embodies inclusivity in the process.[411] The concept of going beyond the churches applies not just to people in the UK who support the organisation's work financially, but also to those to whom Christian Aid extends assistance internationally. One staff member articulated her understanding of Christian Aid as an inclusive organisation by telling the story of a Scottish army chaplain, previously referenced in Section 4.2 of Chapter One, who was the instigator of international action by the UK churches,

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[407] Interview 1, 21 August 2012, 0:13:10; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:15:58 – 0:19:13; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:11:04 and 0:26:48; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:02:16 – 0:09: 24; Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:06:40; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:15:07; Interview 7, October 8 2012, 0:02:42 – 0:06:30; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:19:43; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:11:53 – 0:12:59; Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:04:07 – 0:08:57; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:01:29; Interview 19, December 4, 2012, 0:00:01 – 0:01:52; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:10:18; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:08:14; and Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:06:02.

[408] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:18:04 – 0:18:10.

[409] Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:24:45.

[410] Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:14:39 – 0:15:05; Interview 26, 26 February 2013, 0:16:51 – 0:17:55; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:08:30 – 0:09:51.

[411] The 2010 Christian Aid theology report, *Theology and International Development*, referenced Stanley Hauerwas' understanding of church and world as "relational concepts – neither is intelligible without the other… [It is] impossible for one to survive without the other, though each constantly seeks to do so." Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 20.

which eventually became Christian Aid. He wrote to his colleagues in British churches at the end of WWII appealing for help for the thousands of freezing, starving German refugees he had seen taking shelter in aircraft hangers. The organisation was, the staff member proudly said, "founded in controversy… set up to support people with whom we had very recently been at war."[412] Christian Aid still manifests this same understanding of inclusivity. It controversially funds both Israeli and Palestinian organisations helping people living in extreme poverty in Gaza and the West Bank. Such inclusivity is commonly expressed as: "We work with people of all faiths and none."[413] Being inclusive in the sense of extending love to *all* brothers and sisters in need – thereby embodying the teaching of Jesus – is just as important to Christian Aid's identity and future as ensuring that inclusivity does not overshadow the organisation's Christian identity altogether. One staff member expressed his concern that Christian Aid tread this line carefully, saying: "The worst thing that could happen now would be that we [become] too certain, too down-the-line about everything we believe. How do you manage that pendulum swing? How do we allow ourselves that uncertainty and questioning?"[414] Many staff members value the organisation's recent willingness to openly discuss issues of identity, such as inclusivity, in contrast to the secular period when such discussions were closed off and particular aspects of identity imposed rather than nurtured.

As already discussed, Christian Aid is called to be in the world but not of the world in its development work. The tensions inherent in such an approach are manifold: in particular, how to be inclusive and loving of all while retaining a Christian identity. However, interviewees suggested that if such tensions could be held in healthy balance through constant discourse, Christian Aid's relationships in the world would benefit greatly. The organisation would be enriched through partnerships with those attracted by the values Christian Aid lives out. Inclusivity is not speaking to all with a value-free voice, as the previous secular strategy maintained; rather, for Christian Aid, inclusivity is living Jesus' example of extending love to all. Going beyond the churches to include others in Christian Aid's work does not need to involve a compromise of the organisation's scriptural voice and values – a fact only just being grasped and fully lived out by the organisation in the public domain.

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[412] Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:02:45 – 0:03:07.
[413] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 4.
[414] Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:12:28 – 0:13:04.

4.2.3. THE INHERENT DIGNITY OF THE PERSON

Across Christian Aid's organisational documents, explicit theology and implicit theologies (as voiced by interviewees), inclusivity stems from a belief that all people are created in the image of God and are therefore equal in dignity and worth. This belief is clearly not unique to Christian Aid; but faith in it is so consistently articulated across all levels of the organisation's discourse that it has attained an almost unprecedented degree of organisational consensus. The organisation's discourse also emphasises that in living out this maxim through its work, Christian Aid is extending love to all without judgment, and without a desire to change or mould the subjects of that love.

Rowan Williams, as Chair of Christian Aid's Board of Trustees, has stated that the organisation manifests an understanding of relationship with God as one that informs, enables and illuminates the nature of our relationship with our fellow human beings.[415] Christian Aid's stated belief that all people are equal in the image of God[416] echoes Williams' thinking. He draws on 1 Corinthians 12, which articulates that all people have different gifts to share in community with one another, and holding them back has an adverse effect, not only on individuals, but on the community as a whole. "If one member suffers, all suffer together with it; if one member is honoured, all rejoice together with it."[417] Christian Aid claims in its strategy that all people are created equally in the image of God and are called into relationship to work together to bring about a new creation.[418] This reflects Williams' understanding that equality in the eyes of God is founded upon a mutual contribution to improving the lives of all.

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[415] Christian Aid Press Release, 'Archbishop Rowan Williams Challenges Myths over Aid.' Wednesday June 13, 2012, 2.

[416] "Central to our Christian faith is our belief that all people are created equally in the image of God, with inherent dignity and infinite worth. We believe that poverty is not inevitable and that there is hope for a better world. Created and perpetuated by human systems and structures, poverty can be ended by human action. This belief is founded on our understanding of scripture and the work of a creative and loving God who calls all people into partnership to bring about a new creation." Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 4. "Core Belief 2: Christian Aid believes that we are all without exception made in God's image, and that we see this image reflected in one another. We all have gifts and abilities to share with one another." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 1.

[417] 1 Corinthians 12:26.

[418] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 4.

Christian Aid's explicit theology uses the organisation's work on HIV to explore this aspect of its identity further.[419] Christian Aid has worked with African church leaders to ensure that the responses to HIV at both institutional and parish level are not about apportioning blame, but about providing love and support for those affected. The theological foundation for this work was laid within the first report to be considered part of Christian Aid's explicit theology, the 2004 paper *Theology and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. It drew heavily on Paul's metaphor of the body of Christ in outlining why Christian Aid and its partners should pursue a supportive and loving response to HIV. "In the worst-affected countries, HIV/AIDS leaves no Christian family or church congregation untouched. Paul's teaching that if one part of the body of Christ suffers, all suffer together (1 Corinthians 12:26) is a call to the church worldwide to acknowledge the epidemic as its own. The response to this call for a particular and vital form of inclusiveness, where the church not only admits that HIV is in its midst, but offers full and open acceptance and loving care to those affected, has barely begun."[420] This is just one example of the importance of mutual contribution, mutual learning and lack of judgment to Christian Aid's understanding of the equal dignity and worth of all people.

A number of staff felt that the belief in the dignity and equality of all persons – and the inclusive love that stems from this – is the nugget of integrity at the heart of the organisation's work internationally. "Whenever I speak about Christian Aid, the bit that I hold most dearly is this idea that if you had to sum up Christian Aid in one line, it's: we believe all people are made in the image of God without exception. That gives you a jumping-off point to say that means we can operate this way on HIV, on poverty, on sexuality, on whatever it might be. To say that we are all one is quite an interesting viewpoint and I think it's one that's not widely held, so I quite like it."[421] Even those participants who did not refer explicitly to the belief that all people are created equal in the image of God did so implicitly, when talking about who they were working with and why. One staff member of a Christian Aid sponsoring church spoke in this way about his work among the churches under apartheid in South Africa. "People were sometimes surprised that I wouldn't go to a big church in the city centre, that I was in the townships… It just seemed the natural place to go, because that's where our brothers and sisters were and they

[419] Christian Aid, *Theology and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. Christian Aid, London, 2004, 17.
[420] Ibid.
[421] Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:14:16 – 0:15:11.

were really hurting."[422] These and other interviewees, whether implicitly or explicitly, acknowledged that Christians who believe that all people are created equal – and therefore have an equal claim to the world's resources – cannot rest until the suffering of their brothers and sisters is alleviated and resources are distributed more equally.

Considering the emphasis placed by participants on the belief in the equality of all, the organisation's explicit theology expends surprisingly little space and thought on this idea, referencing it rather than placing it at the center of its formulation of a theology of development. The 2010 report *Theology and International Development* states that "as people in relationship with God, we are called into similar relationship with one another,"[423] influenced as we are by God's own relational essence "as Father, Son and Holy Spirit."[424] The 2012 report *Theology from the Global South* explores the topic a little further, but is by no means expansive. It, too, focuses more on how the concept of equality in dignity and worth upholds the relational theology framework, rather than being of vital theological importance in its own right. "To be human is to reflect the divine, and that is the basis of our relationality. The Malaysian theologian Fr. Jojo Fung refers to this relationship as the 'reverential beholding of the other,' which leads him to advocate honouring the difference between people of other faiths which, he suggests, enables the church to discover the omnipresence of God."[425]

The 2010 report, *Theology and International Development,* explores Amartya Sen's capabilities approach in some depth and concludes that it is a useful framework for Christian Aid to use in its theology of development, and in its approach to its work more broadly. The report also examines Martha Nussbaum's interpretation of the capabilities approach as the quest for a 'decent life', concluding that: "In Christian terms, all this [Nussbaum's approach] adds up to recognising the image of God in other people."[426] Interpreting Nussbaum's work as reinforcing a Christian perspective is problematic, as Section 2 has already noted. But some confluence is nonetheless evident between the implicit understanding of the concept that all people are equal in dignity and worth voiced by this study's participants and the

[422] Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:23:48 – 0:24:17.
[423] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 12.
[424] Ibid.
[425] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 21.
[426] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 8.

exploration of the same concept in Christian Aid's 'formal' theological understanding. There is no evidence, though, that this confluence has come about because the explicit theology holds a pervasive influence on both the organisation's formal and informal discourse. Various sources of influence – Christian Aid's strategic framework;[427] the document outlining its values, behaviours and beliefs;[428] and the pronouncements of the organisation's influential Chair of the Board of Trustees[429] – all combine with the personal reflection of staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches to form an understanding reflected in the explicit theology about the dignity and worth of all people. However, the articulation of this concept within the explicit theology is not explored within a framework that many have read or understood.[430] Despite this disconnection, though, there is a thread of understanding that runs through Christian Aid's organisational documents, explicit theology and the implicit theologies held by participants that relationship with God sheds light upon relationship with our fellow human beings; and it is through our relationship with God – having been made in God's image – that we understand our responsibility to other people.

4.2.4. PARTNERSHIP

Christian Aid is formed and shaped in significant ways by its relationships with both UK church partners and the partners it funds across the world to deliver development programmes in poor communities. But the nature of these partnerships is contested. The data presented in this section demonstrates that organisational documents and official discourse describe these partnerships as equal, mutually enriching and mutually beneficial. However, the research participants suggested that these relationships – particularly those with partners delivering work in-country – cannot be truly equal when one partner has funding

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[427] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty.* Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 4.

[428] "Core Belief 2: Christian Aid believes that we are all without exception made in God's image, and that we see this image reflected in one another. We all have gifts and abilities to share with one another." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 1.

[429] "I think it's very important that Christian Aid has a perfectly clear Christian vision animating and energizing it. I think without that energy we wouldn't be where we are. It is an energy that overflows the boundaries, which says that all human beings are in the image of God, that all human beings have a dignity that needs respect." Rowan Williams, 'Rowan Williams Begins New Social Justice Role as Chair of Christian Aid.' *Baptist Times,* 26 April, 2013. http://www.baptisttimes.co.uk/index.php/national-news/893-rowan-williams-begins-new-social-justice-role-as-chair-of-christian-aid. Viewed 29 April 2013.

[430] At an observation session involving five staff members who were not interviewed as part of this project, alongside three who were, three of those who were not interviewed asserted that they had never heard of Christian Aid's 'relational' theology and that they didn't understand what this term meant. Observation 23, November 22, 2013.

in its gift, and the other partner requires that funding to survive. This correlates with Alasdair MacIntyre's theory of asymmetry, which claims that human relations are rarely, if ever, truly equal.[431] MacIntyre applies this idea to relationships between institutions, as well as individuals. "Institutionalized networks of giving and receiving are… always structures of unequal distributions of power, structures well-designed to both mask and to protect those same distributions."[432] Christian Aid's partnership model is undeniably an institutionalised network of giving and receiving. But whether it is an asymmetric network designed to protect Christian Aid's relative power within it is open to question. The data on partnership analysed and presented in this section puts questions about the balance of power and the asymmetry of Christian Aid's relationships with its partners at its core. In doing so, this section seeks to uncover the true nature of Christian Aid's partnerships. It examines whether the implicit and null theologies of partnership at Christian Aid correlate with the view of partnership presented in both Christian Aid's explicit theology and formal organisational discourse.

The concept of partnership consistently expressed in the source material is one of Christian Aid working with churches in the UK and with local organisations around the world. It makes Christian Aid the conduit through which churches and individuals in the UK can connect with and support poor communities internationally.

Diagram 5:

[431] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Dependent Rational Animals: Why human beings need the virtues.* Duckworth, London, 1999, 100.
[432] Ibid, 102.

By working in this way, Christian Aid claims that it does not drive change, but enables others to make change happen. In an observation session aiming to address the question 'What Makes Christian Aid Unique?', one staff member expressed organisation's role of facilitating partnership in the following terms: "There are a lot of people who want and believe that the world can be a better place. Whether they're the people who are the so-called victims… or people who see the world shouldn't be the way that it is. Christian Aid is about providing a channel… a mechanism of enabling that movement to come together."[433] This understanding of Christian Aid as a conduit between communities in the UK and around the world through which change can happen is reflected in a number of organisational documents, both internal and external. *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity* explores the concept of partnership in the following way: "Respect, empathy and love for all people are the root of our vision for a world without poverty. Seeking always to work co-operatively and conscious of our continuing need to learn from others, we join with all those who struggle against poverty, powerlessness and injustice."[434] Through this lens, partnership is, for Christian Aid, based on a belief in the inherent dignity and worth of all people. As such, there is no ego involved. Partnership provides Christian Aid with an opportunity to constantly improve by learning from others, rather than working in a vacuum in which no alternative perspective would be sought or provided. Christian Aid's explicit theology understands partnership through this same lens, asserting that: "Christian Aid's choice to work through partners rather than to be directly operational[435] reflects the importance of relationships"[436] and the importance of trust, which these relationships require and build. Recognising the dignity and worth of the other, through trusting relationship, is "relational theology in action."[437] Prior to 2012 these references to partnership were among the few made in Christian Aid's explicit theology. The terminology of relationship instead takes precedence, suggesting that the explicit theology is a parallel, rather than an integrated, discourse existing alongside the partnership approach. It is the partnership approach that is prioritised in Christian Aid's organisational strategy and in the implicit discourse of staff, supporters and sponsoring churches.

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[433] Observation 12, October 30, 2012, a comment from interviewee 14, 0:04:55 – 0:05:32.
[434] Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 2.
[435] The term 'directly operational' refers to the way of working deployed by a number of international NGOs, which implement development programmes by sending their own staff to work in-country, rather than relying upon the expertise of local partners, as Christian Aid does.
[436] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 23.
[437] Ibid.

In 2012, Christian Aid's explicit theological framework began to place a much greater emphasis on partnership, with the publication of *Theology from the Global South*. Referencing a consultation on partnership held jointly by Christian Aid and the Anglican Communion in Nairobi in 2011, the paper identified the following actors in Christian Aid's partnership model:

- Christian Aid itself
- British churches and supporters
- churches overseas (including implementing partners)
- the brokers of relationships
- recipients of both aid and advocacy.[438]

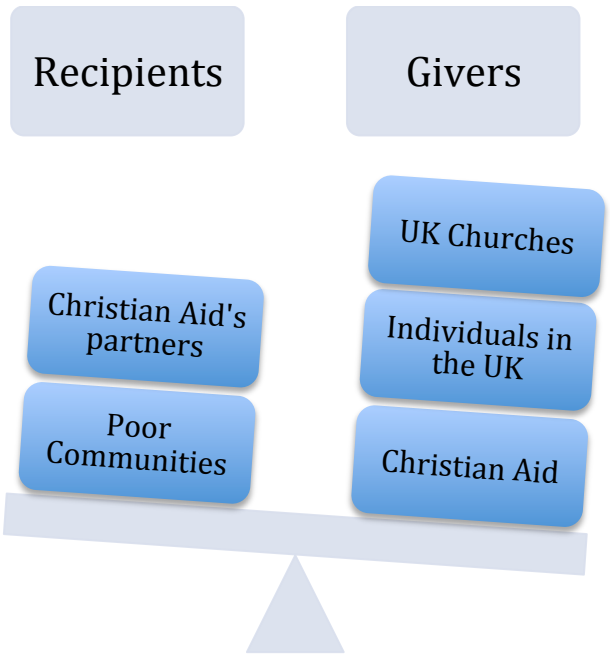
Far more attention is paid to who is involved in Christian Aid's partnerships, and how, in the *Theology from the Global South* report than in any of the previous publications that make up Christian Aid's explicit theology. Previous reports use the language of relationship, drawn from the Barthian framework of relational theology. This shift in focus towards partnership away from relationship can be attributed to the influence of 'Southern' voices. It is through partnership – rather than relational theology – that these and many other voices associated with Christian Aid express their understanding of its work. The shift could also be due to the introduction, in 2011, of the organisation's new corporate strategy *Partnership for Change*. Previous explicit theology papers were written under the secular strategy, and relational theology was an open and inclusive approach, conducive to enhancing Christian Aid's relationships outside of the churches. With the shift to a faith identity that prioritised partnership with churches, the explicit theology shifted focus accordingly.

Drawn from participant observation, Christian Aid internal documentation and explicit theology, these articulations of partnership share a recognition of the dignity and worth of all people. They correspondingly recognise that Christian Aid's place within partnership is not to dictate and lead, but to provide a conduit for others to engage in the development process, with all parties learning from the relationship along the way. However, a number of questions arise from this

[438] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 13.

conception of partnership. First, all relationships involve an element of power, and the balance of this power is never absolutely equal, resulting in the asymmetry explored by MacIntyre. Christian Aid's overseas partners depend on the organisation's funding. Can Christian Aid's professed respect for the equality and dignity of all outweigh such an imbalance in power? This power imbalance is not acknowledged in Christian Aid's explicit discourse, but did come to light in interviews and participant observation, as it is part of the organisation's implicit discourse. One interviewee spoke about the disconnection between Christian Aid's "mythology" of partnership and the reality of what happens on the ground.[439] One participant in an observation session claimed that when Christian Aid can decide to stop funding a partner, the relationship with that partner can never be equal.[440] Two others spoke about the power balance between Christian Aid and those partners in the UK who fund the organisation's work, in particular the UK churches.[441]

Diagram 6:



[439] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:12:54 – 0:13:07. "I felt there was a very great disconnect between – on the one hand, the work with the partners – the groundwork, the rhetoric, and the mythology that has built up around that; and the way that we interpreted that in London."
[440] Observation 24, November 22, 2013, session notes.
[441] Interview 4, September 17, 2012 0:06:04 – 0:06:30; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:14:37.

An important aspect of power within Christian Aid's relationships with partners is evidence of influence and learning. Relationships that involve mutual learning tend to be more balanced. Christian Aid's explicit discourse addresses the organisation's responsibility to engage in learning,[442] but makes no reference to how such learning will be carried out, or whether it is expected to be a reciprocal process. This section will examine examples of changes Christian Aid has made as a result of partners' influence, and whether the implicit theologies of partnership held by interviewees are an integral part of this process.

The power analysis of Christian Aid's partnerships in this section will divide these partnerships into two broad categories:

- partners implementing development work internationally, funded by Christian Aid
- the 41 Christian denominations in the UK, which are largely responsible for the income Christian Aid generates through public donations.[443]

Both of these groups work in partnership with Christian Aid, but the nature of the two relationships is markedly different because of the power dynamic at the heart of each.

In its relationships with partners implementing development work internationally, Christian Aid holds power because it controls funds on which the partners and projects depend. Although no reference to this power dynamic is made in Christian Aid's explicit discourse, two participants made oblique reference to it.[444] Alongside the earlier-quoted acknowledgement from one interviewee of the disconnect between the work with partners on the ground and the centralised "mythology" of partnership,[445] the question arises as to how realistic the centralised interpretation of partnership – enshrined in organisational documents produced in London – really is. The central pillars of Christian Aid's "mythology" of partnership, and

[442] Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity,* Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 2.
[443] Donations from the UK public are differentiated from income Christian Aid receives from institutional donors such as the UK Government's Department for International Development and the European Commission.
[444] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:15:57 – 0:19:15; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:16:21 – 0:16:53.
[445] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:12:54 – 0:13:07.

organisational identity more broadly, are equality and respect for all people. How can such equality be achieved when one partner has control over the funding other partners require for survival? This question is further complicated when considering Christian Aid's relationships with international church partners who, in many instances, implement projects. Almost one-third[446] of interviewees expressed the view that, in contexts in which Christian Aid works with partners from a variety of faith or non-faith perspectives, international church partners hold a privileged position. "I tell [our] church partners, you are all our natural partners. But the standard is the same for everybody. You are all natural partners, so you can take more if you can."[447] This deeper allegiance with church partners is, in many cases, endorsed by Christian Aid's UK supporters. They value the organisation's inclusive approach to partnership, but feel a deeper resonance with the work of church-based partners. One interviewee, who had worked for both a Christian Aid partner and with Christian Aid supporters in the UK, explained: "It was… very clear that the supporters in our churches seem to understand much more where we [as a church partner] were coming from than others. You didn't have to self-explain."[448] The long history of many UK denominations in sending missionaries and supporting mission partners has, in many cases, instilled an understanding of what it means to work through churches internationally. This understanding, and the "similar DNA"[449] shared by Christian Aid and its church partners, is what arguably places these partner organisations in a privileged position compared with Christian Aid's non-church partners.

However, this position of privilege can be problematic: two staff members[450] acknowledged that, very often, Christian Aid's weakest partners are church partners. They often need greater investment to enable them to fulfill their agreements with Christian Aid. One participant in an observation session suggested that the organisation has not always made good on its rhetoric of "walking the extra mile"[451] to support its church partners. "It's been much easier to say, 'We're

[446] Interview 9, October 24, 2012, 0:24:12 – 0:25:03; Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 0:24:42 – 0:25:31; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:32:11 – 0:32:51; Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:02:50 – 0:03:48; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:35:17 – 0:35:31; Interview 22, June 15, 2013, 0:09:54 – 0:10:11; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:24:18 – 0:24:57; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:24:18 – 0:26:27; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:33:04 – 0:33:38.
[447] Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:33:04 – 0:33:38.
[448] Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:02:50 – 0:03:18.
[449] Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:34:48 – 0:34:52.
[450] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:33:08 – 0:33:38 and 0:34:04 – 0:35:23; Observation 21, June 6 and 7, 2013, session notes.
[451] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:31:04 – 0:31:37.

not going to support this particular church partner in this particular country because they're not very good and we haven't got the energy for it. And we're making tough choices and we hide behind our tough choices.' But we're not actually saying to them, in open partnership, 'Why, what are our concerns? What do we expect to be, what do you expect from us and that kind of thing?'"[452] Deciding not to support church partners in this way can have serious ramifications for Christian Aid. In the example of severed partnership cited in Section 4.1, the church partner was a member of the Anglican Communion. The incident affected Christian Aid's relationship with the Church of England, when its members questioned why funding to one of its sister churches in the Communion had been cut off.[453] One staff member interviewed suggested that in future Christian Aid should work with mission agencies – particularly those of the Church of England – to build the capacity of weak church partners. This would bring those churches up to the standard needed to access Christian Aid funding, and be formally accepted as Christian Aid partners.[454]

As this example involving the Church of England demonstrates, Christian Aid does not hold power with UK churches as clearly as it does with partners internationally. In the same way that international partners depend on Christian Aid for funding, Christian Aid depends on the churches in the UK for the majority of its voluntary income. This support is both direct (in response to appeals and long-term funding agreements), and indirect (through recruiting almost all of the 120,000 volunteers who carry out the annual house-to-house collection during Christian Aid Week). MacIntyre makes an illuminating point in his analysis of power in relationships: "Often enough it is from one set of individuals that we receive and to and by another that we are called on to give."[455] Christian Aid, as the "conduit" between UK churches and poor communities globally, has been seeking to hold power as both recipient and giver, even though these two roles are played out with different partners in separate realms. So while Christian Aid expects its international partners to be fully accountable for the funds they receive, the organisation has not been willing to be equally accountable to its own funders, the churches.[456] This

[452] Observation 12, October 30, 2012, 0:22:19 – 0:22:42.
[453] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:18:13 – 0:18:42.
[454] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:24:12 – 0:25:01.
[455] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Dependent Rational Animals: Why human beings need the virtues.* Duckworth, London, 1999, 100.
[456] Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:08:32 – 0:09:09; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:06:52 – 0:07:16; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:05:28 – 0:07:01.

dynamic changed following the 2009 AGM, when Christian Aid recognised that it was not in a position of unimpeachable power in its relationship with the UK churches.

There is a common understanding of partnership discernible across Christian Aid's organisational documents, participant contributions and explicit theology. This understanding is expressed by many as founded upon the concept of all people being created equal in dignity and worth. Christian Aid is seen as the conduit between groups of people equal in such dignity and worth, but deeply unequal in terms of access to resources and life opportunities. However, this shared conception of partnership does not pay adequate attention to the asymmetry that MacIntyre claims exists within every relationship, and to which a number of staff drew attention as a lacuna within Christian Aid's discourse. The organisation has attempted to hold power as both receiver (of funds from UK churches) and giver (of funds to partners implementing development projects internationally). This is in contrast to the organisation's 'mythology' of partnership, involving equal and mutually beneficial relationships, in which Christian Aid acts simply as the conduit between giver and receiver, rather than actively assuming each role. Therefore, power forms a lacuna within Christian Aid's organisational discourse of partnership. As long as this lacuna is allowed to persist, rather than being brought out into the open and acknowledged, Christian Aid's ability to identify with the experience and pain of extreme poverty will be compromised. The organisation's explicit theology claims that, as Christians, our ability to share the pain of the other stems from our shared experience of the pain of the crucifixion.[457] In holding power in partnership, rather than providing a means of exchange between giver and receiver, Christian Aid is refusing to be attentive to the shared experience of the crucifixion. It is ignoring a key opportunity to manifest a truly Christian ethos and to live out the theological claims made implicitly, but ignored within the organisation's formal discourse and conduct.

4.3. Drawing Together the Threads of Christian Aid's Identity

In drawing together the key strands of influence on Christian Aid's character, and how these sources of influence manifest in a unique and defining identity, elements of consensus across the different voices at work within the organisation can be

[457] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 21.

discerned. Organisational documents, the explicit theology, and the implicit theologies of research participants all identified churches, church partners and non-church partners internationally as significant sources of influence on Christian Aid's identity. There was also a degree of consensus about the key aspects of Christian Aid's identity formed by these sources of influence. Christian Aid's prophetic voice; inclusivity; the inherent dignity of the person; and partnership were identified as the four pillars of its identity. None of these elements were seen as unique in themselves. They were viewed as coming together to form an organisation which helps to bring about change through a Christian lens. Although Christian Aid's explicit theology touches upon all four key pillars, interviewees made no reference to it shaping, creating or informing them. Rather, interviewees saw these key aspects of identity as arising from praxis, history, scripture and the churches. In living out an identity founded upon these four key pillars, Christian Aid is active in the world as a Christian organisation. It calls others to join a journey drawing together tradition and reflection with active manifestations of Christian love.

Below the surface, however, the degree of consensus regarding Christian Aid's four-pillared identity is questionable: how prophetic or inclusive is the organisation actually able to be? How truly equitable are the partnerships which are considered by so many to define Christian Aid's identity? These questions arise from two key tensions at the heart of Christian Aid's identity:

1) The tension inherent in being in the world but not of the world as a Christian development agency
2) The tension between accountability and reciprocity in partnership with churches and development actors across the world.

Christian Aid struggles with the first tension because of its pendulum-swing towards the secular and back again. This experience highlighted the contested space Christian Aid occupies as a church agency but not a church; and as a development agency but not a secular entity driven by pragmatic concerns alone. Christian Aid struggles with the second tension because of its reluctance to name, discuss and own the asymmetry of its relationships with partners, a reluctance which has made power a lacuna within the organisation's discourse. These tensions arguably define Christian Aid's identity as much as the key forces of church and

partners identified by research participants. However, their influence comes through in what is unsaid, rather than what is said. The adaptability Christian Aid has demonstrated in its changes in identity in recent years may extend, in future, to owning these tensions explicitly. Until that time, though, Christian Aid remains defined not only by the four key pillars created through relationship with churches and partners; but by the tensions that arise from living out these pillars through relationship not just with churches and partners, but with the wider world.

5. CHRISTIAN AID'S VALUES

Values play a key role in determining both the core purpose and the distinct character of organisations.[458] Shalom H. Schwartz is one of the more significant thinkers on values, and his work has informed external analysis of Christian Aid's values and identity.[459] He defines values as being "used to characterize cultural groups, societies and individuals, to trace changes over time and to explain the motivational bases of attitudes and behavior," thereby articulating the "desirable goals that motivate action."[460] Although Schwartz's definition of values – and the ten core values he claims are universally held[461] – pertain primarily to individuals, his thinking is also applicable to organisations, "and ultimately the values and beliefs that drive [the] behaviours"[462] which form organisational values. J.W. Van Deth's perspective correlates with that of Schwartz. Van Deth emphasises the ongoing importance of community and socialisation in forming, maintaining and changing values.[463] Schwartz explains values as "motivational bases"[464] underlying attitudes and behaviours, a concept of particular relevance to faith-based development. Values provide a language and a framework by which the shared goals of an organisation can be laid out, the motivation behind each explored and the behaviour required to bring each to fruition clarified.

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[458] A perception that steadfast values contribute to long-term organisational success is evident in the literature on the subject. See particularly James C. Collins and Jerry I. Porras, 'Building Your Company's Vision.' *Harvard Business Review,* September 1, 1996, 1.
[459] Jo Chamberlain, 'Christian Aid: Making extrinsic frames history.' *Common Cause: The case for working with values and frames.* November 16, 2012. http://valuesandframes.org/christian-aid/. Viewed 22 February 2014.
[460] Shalom H. Schwartz, 'An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.' *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2:1, 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116. Viewed 11 March 2014, 3.
[461] Ibid, 5-7. The ten universally-applicable values identified by Schwartz are: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence and universalism.
[462] Raymond D. Smith, 'A Case for the Centrality of Ethics in Organisational Transformation.' *Journal of Human Values,* 8:3, 2002, 7.
[463] J.W. Van Deth, 'The Impact of Values.' *The Impact of Values.* Jan W. Van Deth and Elinor Scarbrough (eds.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, 2.
[464] Ibid, 3.

In examining the goals, motivation and behaviour underlying Christian Aid's values, it is informative to look first at an external perspective on the subject. Jo Chamberlain, examining Christian Aid's practice in 2012, concluded that the organisation was based on "intrinsic values." The way Christian Aid frames its work as being conducted in partnership rather than as an act of charity was one example of this.[465] Chamberlain interprets the approach of working in solidarity with, rather than providing assistance to, the world's poor as an outworking of Schwartz's "universalism" value, which is concern for the welfare of all people.[466] Such an analysis would have been difficult before September 2011, as before this time there existed no agreed framework for the organisation's values. During the early months of Christian Aid's 'liminal' period, when many of the first substantive moves towards a more faith-oriented identity took place, work was done to define the values and behaviours fundamental to every aspect of Christian Aid's work. The process culminated in September 2011 when the Board of Trustees approved an internal document entitled *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. It laid out five 'core beliefs'[467] and the values and behaviours inherent in each. Interviewees were asked about this document, but commonly responded with a lack of enthusiasm or knowledge. One participant indicated that his response was not going to be positive by prefacing it with the statement "I'll just shut my eyes to the tape…"[468]

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[465] Jo Chamberlain, 'Christian Aid: Making extrinsic frames history.' *Common Cause: The case for working with values and frames.* 16 November 2012. http://valuesandframes.org/christian-aid/. Viewed 22 February 2014.

[466] Schwartz defines the defining goal of the "universalism" value as "understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of *all* people and for nature." Shalom H. Schwartz, 'An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.' *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2:1, 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116. Viewed 11 March 2014, 7.

[467] "Core belief 1: Christian Aid believes we are called to love and care for one another in ways that are exemplified in, and inspired by, Jesus' earthly ministry. In Jesus, the divisions that separate human beings from God, from one another and from the creation, are overcome and therefore we have a part in the mission of Jesus Christ to the bring good news to the poor.
"Core belief 2: Christian Aid believes that we are all without exception made in God's image, and that we see this image reflected in one another. We all have gifts and abilities to share with one another.
"Core belief 3: Christian Aid believes all aspects of its work reflect our obedience to Jesus' command to love God and our neighbour. We believe that in addition to our response to profound and immediate human need, advocacy to change the structures that perpetuate poverty and injustice is an important manifestation of our love for our neighbour. Our calling is to be prophetic in our words and actions and we will never be content until poverty is over.
"Core belief 4: Christian Aid believes that we are part of the worldwide Body of Christ and that this is reflected in our relationship with our sponsoring churches in Britain and Ireland. We believe that together with them and with others we are called to live out the vision of a new earth transformed by God's love and justice.
"Core belief 5: Christian Aid believes in the goodness of creation. God has made an earth that is sufficient for all our needs and God has called us to cherish it. Therefore, we will live in ways that care and protect the environment on which we and all people depend." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Internal document, September 2011, 1-2.

[468] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:27:12 – 0:27:21.

There were two main reasons for this lack of engagement. Two interviewees[469] thought that the document had some value to begin with, but that it had been attenuated through corporate processes to the point that it was no longer of any real worth. These corporate processes were designed to ensure that the expression of Christian Aid's beliefs and values was as inclusive as possible, but, as with the previous secular strategy, this diluted the core Christian message without making the content any more attractive or accessible to non-faith audiences. According to one staff member who was involved in drafting the document: "It went through so many rounds I think all the great words and all the good stuff came out. I think it's all a little bit 'so what?' now. And … [you] might say, it's applicable to all, there's nothing for anyone to argue with, [but] are we really about that? I don't think we are."[470] Another interviewee went further in questioning whether the beliefs and values in the document reflect Christian Aid's faith basis, saying: "It's not what it could be. We want to be inclusive and we don't want to be exclusive, which is good, I'm happy about that. [But] it's the Christian-based values that we're talking about rather than the Christian faith… It's very easy to come out with a list of values that are about respect and inclusion, [there's] profound need for those in the world. But they're not actually about the Christian faith. They're not actually about the dying and the rising, and the transformation that comes through self-giving and what is love in Christian Aid."[471] The emphasis on inclusivity suggests that the values and beliefs were deliberately articulated so as to smooth tensions between those associated with Christian Aid who are of faith, and those who are not. The two staff members[472] who commended the document did so because of its inclusive values. "The beliefs and values are, of course, founded in Christianity, but they're beliefs and values in which all people can share."[473]

The second reason for the lack of engagement on the subject of Christian Aid's values and beliefs was openly expressed by two staff members.[474] They said that the behaviours outlined in the document are not consistently modeled by staff. "Would people recognise those values and beliefs if they didn't know they existed

[469] Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:21:32 – 0:22:07; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:27:21 – 0:28:14.
[470] Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:21:32 – 0:22:07.
[471] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:31:44 – 0:32:15.
[472] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:42:23 – 0:44:41; Interview 27, May 7, 2013, interview notes.
[473] Interview 27, May 7, 2013, interview notes.
[474] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:59:12 – 0:59:47; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:09:28 – 0:10:34.

and they just met you or I? I hope they would. I'm not too sure if we held the whole organisation up to scrutiny they would necessarily recognise [the values and beliefs]."[475] The fact that these beliefs and values are not consistently evident in the daily actions of staff indicates that they are not widely owned by those staff, and that there is a lack of acceptance that Christian Aid's faith basis must be lived as well as articulated.

The inability to reach true consensus on Christian Aid's faith motivation is linked to the prophetic voice, which staff expressed such a fervent desire to recapture. If the beliefs and values Christian Aid embraces are broadly, inclusively Christian, rather than deeply rooted – theoretically and behaviourally – in the Christian faith, the ability to be prophetic is mitigated. How can the desire of staff, supporters and sponsoring churches to see Christian Aid maintain its inclusivity – based on the understanding that all people are made in the image of God – be balanced with their desire for a more profoundly Christian identity, expressed through more confidently Christian beliefs and values, and heard by the churches as a prophetic voice calling them to action? The following data analysis seeks to determine whether the answer lies in the existing organisational discourse, in the implicit reflections of those associated with the organisation, or has not yet been articulated by either.

5.1. FAITH MOTIVATING ACTION

Four staff members[476] claimed that Christian Aid's values are not properly owned or embedded within the organisation. They suggested that this may indicate an attenuated commitment to fully embracing Christian doctrine as the bedrock of the organisation's ethos, work and discourse. But 17 staff members[477] said faith is a major motivation for action, both personally and organisationally. And all four

[475] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:09:28 – 0:10:34.
[476] Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 0:21:32 – 0:22:07; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:59:12 – 0:59:47; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:27:21 – 0:28:14; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:09:28 – 0:10:34.
[477] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:01:33 – 0:03:53; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:42:36 – 0:43:12; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:02:55 – 0:05:25; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:06:36 – 0:08:32; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:15:44 – 0:17:02; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:44:39 – 0:49:55; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:00:28 – 0:02:04; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:14:37; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:12:21 – 0:13:18; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:33:43 – 0:37:07; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:19:27 – 0:21:52; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:01:04 – 0:02:11; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:17:07 – 0:19:36; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:09:32 – 0:10:27; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:12:31 – 0:14:06; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:04:01 – 0:04:24; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:32:05 – 0:34:52.

supporters interviewed[478] cited faith as a key motivation. This motivation is also a central component of Christian Aid's explicit discourse, articulated by the values and beliefs document in the following way:

Core belief 3: Christian Aid believes all aspects of its work reflect our obedience to Jesus' command to love God and our neighbour. We believe that in addition to our response to profound and immediate human need, advocacy to change the structures that perpetuate poverty and injustice is an important manifestation of our love for our neighbour. Our calling is to be prophetic in our words and actions and we will never be content until poverty is over.

Values: Hope, justice, courage, determination.[479]

Both Christian Aid's values and beliefs document, and 21 participants, expressed a belief that Christian Aid enables action motivated by faith. The most commonly cited example of this faith in action is the Christian Aid Week house-to-house collection. "Christian Aid Week comes around again and hundreds of thousands of Christian Aid supporters nobly set out into the nation's streets to demonstrate the practical reality of their faith. They are motivated by compassion, rooted, they instinctively know, in the life of Jesus Christ."[480] This statement expresses the same understanding held by many Christian Aid supporters: that to go out and ask the British public to support Christian Aid is a non-negotiable aspect of what it is to be a Christian. At a supporter gathering in the summer of 2012, this subject sparked lively discussion. The belief was expressed that calling oneself a Christian without

[478] Interview 15, November 22, 2012, 0:03:32 – 0:05:01; Interview 17, November 30, 2012, 0:02:03 – 0:02:57; Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 0:15:36 – 0:16:07; Interview 25, February 4, 2013, 0:02:49 – 0:03:07.

[479] Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Internal document, September 2011, 1. The other four core beliefs which accompany Core Belief 3 are:
"Core belief 1: Christian Aid believes we are called to love and care for one another in ways that are exemplified in, and inspired by, Jesus' earthly ministry. In Jesus, the divisions that separate human beings from God, from one another and from the creation, are overcome and therefore we have a part in the mission of Jesus Christ to the bring good news to the poor.
"Core belief 2: Christian Aid believes that we are all without exception made in God's image, and that we see this image reflected in one another. We all have gifts and abilities to share with one another.
"Core belief 4: Christian Aid believes that we are part of the worldwide Body of Christ and that this is reflected in our relationship with our sponsoring churches in Britain and Ireland. We believe that together with them and with others we are called to live out the vision of a new earth transformed by God's love and justice.
"Core belief 5: Christian Aid believes in the goodness of creation. God has made an earth that is sufficient for all our needs and God has called us to cherish it. Therefore, we will live in ways that care and protect the environment on which we and all people depend." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Internal document, September 2011, 1-2.

[480] The Rt. Revd. John Pritchard, Bishop of Oxford, 'Preface' to Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 3.

being willing to act – to actually *do* something – on behalf of the world's poor did not amount to a full understanding of what it is to be a Christian.

Supporter 1: "[Taking part in Christian Aid Week] is so *utterly* basic to calling yourself a Christian!"

Supporter 2: "It's not much use going on your knees on a Sunday and praying for the poor when you're not prepared to *do* something."

Supporter 1: "It seems to me that one of the big strengths of Christian Aid is that it gives you the chance to put something that *matters* to you actually into action, because you believe in it."[481]

Christian Aid's ability to mobilise church-goers to take action on issues of poverty and injustice is viewed by staff, supporters and sponsoring churches alike as one of the organisation's greatest strengths. Without the gospel imperative, though, Christian Aid's greatest strength would be lost. The organisation depends on its faith basis to inspire action; and the action is, for many people, a fulfilling means by which their faith can be expressed.

A less well-known, but just as illustrative, example of Christian Aid's ability to inspire action through faith occurred on 20 November 2013. The organisation called on church supporters and the wider British public to fast in solidarity with Yeb Sano, the leader of the Philippine delegation to the UN climate talks in Poland. Earlier that month, Typhoon Haiyan had devastated the Philippines, leaving millions of people hungry, homeless and destitute. Linking climate change caused by human actions to the increasing occurrence of severe storms, Sano declared his determination to fast in solidarity with the people of his country until a meaningful outcome was agreed at the UN talks.[482] Christian Aid emailed its supporters, calling on them to make 20 November "a day of fasting and prayer" and to email Ed Davey, Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, telling him "your personal reasons for fasting."[483] Thousands responded to a call motivated by the belief that

[481] Observation 3, July 5, 2012, 0:35:44 – 0:36:47.
[482] John Vidal, 'Yeb Sano surfaces at UN climate talks and thanks supporters of fast.' *The Guardian,* 'Poverty Matters Blog.' 19 November 2013. http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/nov/19/yeb-sano-hunger-strike-un-climate-talks-warsaw. Viewed 15 December 2013.
[483] Christian Aid, 'Fast for the Philippines.' Email to supporters, 19 November 2013.

the people of the Philippines are our brothers and sisters made in the image of God. This motivation drove many to take action, rather than simply to pray. The Christian tradition of fasting, as Isaiah 58:6-7 states, is bound up not only in personal abstinence, but in doing God's will in reaching out to the poor.[484] Fasting in solidarity with Yeb Sano and the people of the Philippines; lobbying political leaders to control carbon emissions; praying for a meaningful outcome to the climate talks; and donating to the Typhoon Haiyan appeal are all acts bound up with one another. In the minds of many Christian Aid staff, sponsoring churches and supporters, faith motivates action and without meaningful action, faith would be hollow.

Diagram 7:

Christian Aid's explicit theology touches on the idea of faith being lived out through action. But rather than action being viewed as a positive manifestation of Christian belief in itself, it is interpreted specifically as the positive manifestation of Christian faith in action through development, as opposed to mission or evangelisation. The explicit theology states that the relational theological framework "recognises an approach to development that is grounded in the Christian gospel but that is also distinct from Christian mission. While many people involved in international

[484] Isaiah 58:6-7. "Is not this the fast that I choose: to loose the bonds of injustice, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke? Is it not to share your bread with the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house; when you see the naked, to cover them, and not to hide yourself from your own kin?"

development may well be motivated by their personal faith, that faith is shown most clearly in the actions they undertake to serve the poorest people, and not in their transmitting their beliefs directly to the people they help."[485] Using the theological exploration of action as a manifestation of faith to so defiantly differentiate Christian Aid's work from mission and evangelisation is to risk alienating a significant number of the organisation's sponsoring churches, which engage in mission activity. Open hostility to mission is inconsistent with the organisation's attempts to express its faith in an inclusive manner, and casts doubt on the expression of inclusivity as a core value. A more positive way of interpreting Christian Aid's emphasis on action as an outworking of faith came from a staff member of a sponsoring church. He suggested that Christian Aid's implicit theology of action could be understood as "a very grounded theology, an earthed theology. Yes, thinking and theologising about things, but also working and doing things that make a difference."[486] The word 'earthed' here is crucial. The interviewee did not consider Christian Aid's implicit theologies to be predominantly concerned with the transcendent, but with the here and now. This is a view reflected in the best-loved of the organisation's old marketing straplines: 'We believe in life before death'. Two staff members[487] said this strapline encapsulated Christian Aid's focus on action as a commitment to faith. Rowan Williams claims that 'earthed' relationships are crucial to our understanding of and search for the eternal, and that the earthed and the eternal must work together because "the substance of our relation with eternal truth and love is bound up with how we manage the proximity of [our] human neighbours."[488] In the minds of many of those interviewed, Christian Aid's focus on action motivated by faith is an opportunity to enrich these relationships and explore how transcendent faith can be brought to bear in positive ways on the lives of the world's poorest and most marginalised people.

5.2. PROFESSIONALISM V. PROPHETIC

What happens, though, when the work of an organisation to which so many people subscribe because of the opportunity to put faith into action, is carried out not by staff motivated by personal faith, but by those who prioritise professionalism – people who value specialisation in pragmatic aspects of Christian Aid's work over

[485] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 10.
[486] Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:03:44 – 0:04:12.
[487] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, post-interview notes; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:08:50 – 09:04.
[488] Rowan Williams, *Where God Happens: Discovering Christ in one another.* New Seeds, Boston, 2007, 12.

relationship-building and reflection on how the organisation's work manifests faith in action? Such professionalism was identified through the data analysis as being held in tension with the desire for the organisation to once more become prophetic. The concept of a prophetic voice has already been discussed at some length in Section 4; but this is the first time professionalism has been addressed. Professionalism, in its most basic iteration, refers to specific training and skills which equip an individual to practice a specialised craft or vocation. It has been claimed that this training creates thinkers who are less creative and more likely to conform to hierarchies than their unprofessional peers.[489] Interviewees generally saw professionalism as evident when individuals demonstrated a narrow focus on a particular objective (for example, fundraising). This single-mindedness, they felt, could, in some circumstances, damage the work being done by others or the organisation's reputation with supporters, who usually expect it to operate on the basis of ministry[490] – as an organisation closely related to the churches, rather than narrower professional vocation.

Professionalism and propheticism within Christian Aid were viewed by a number of interviewees as being held in such close relationship that the predominance of the former has directly affected the ability of the organisation to evidence the latter. Christian Aid's ability to inspire action through faith was cited by 21 interviewees[491] as a core value, which the organisation must retain. As part of this assertion, seven interviewees[492] were concerned that the professionalisation of Christian Aid's workforce has crowded out its ability to be prophetic[493] and to embody faith through action. Many of those who spoke about the professional and

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[489] Jeff Schmidt, *Disciplined Minds: A critical look at salaried professionals and the soul-battering system that shapes their lives.* Rowman and Littleford, Maryland, 2001, 10.
[490] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:10:30 – 0:11:18; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:45:03 – 0:45:32.
[491] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:01:33 – 0:03:53; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:42:36 – 0:43:12; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:02:55 – 0:05:25; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:06:36 – 0:08:32; Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:15:44 – 0:17:02; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:44:39 – 0:49:55; Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:00:28 – 0:02:04; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:14:37; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:12:21 – 0:13:18; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:33:43 – 0:37:07; Interview 15, November 22, 2012, 0:03:32 – 0:05:01; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:19:27 – 0:21:52; Interview 17, November 30, 2012, 0:02:03 – 0:02:57; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:01:04 – 0:02:11; Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 0:15:36 – 0:16:07; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:17:07 – 0:19:36; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:09:32 – 0:10:27; Interview 25, February 4, 2013, 0:02:49 – 0:03:07; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:12:31 – 0:14:06; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:04:01 – 0:04:24; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:32:05 – 0:34:52.
[492] Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:23:44 – 0:24:31; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:11:44 – 0:12:34; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:13:21 – 0:13:50; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:08:21 – 0:08:54; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 016:50 – 0:17:52; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:26:39 – 0:27:20; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:18:31 – 0:20:28.
[493] See section 4.2.1 for a full exploration of what is meant by the term 'prophetic' in the context of Christian Aid's work.

the prophetic framed their ideas in the context of the difficulty of finding balance between having a strong Christian identity and being inclusive. "The trouble is that by being an open and inclusive organisation that says 'we don't mind if you don't have a faith when you work for us,' we forgot to say 'but we do expect you to understand that you are working for a faith-based body.' You can't just act as though you're working for Oxfam… You can't. If you do and we allow you to then we're not being true to who we are."[494] Finding a balance between being inclusive, being professional and being prophetic is not addressed within Christian Aid's articulation of its values and beliefs. But each element is identified separately as being of great importance. Inclusivity is articulated as the belief that "we are all without exception made in God's image, and… we see this image reflected in one another. We all have gifts and abilities to share with one another."[495] Professionalism is identified as "encouraging personal and professional development and learning at every level."[496] Christian Aid's prophetic role is understood as being manifest in particular behaviours, which include "speak[ing] out and expos[ing] the scandal of poverty with courage and determination, and we challenge the power structures that do not allow people to rise out of poverty."[497]

While inclusivity, professionalism, and the ability to be prophetic are all prominent in Christian Aid's explicit articulation of its beliefs and values, they were given very different levels of priority by interviewees. All the Christian Aid staff interviewees who touched upon the subject of professionalism[498] regarded it as a negative trend at Christian Aid, many associating it with the previous secular strategy. During the period up to 2009/10, the organisation articulated its ambition as achieving an annual income of £100million.[499] Various specialist roles were created to achieve this goal. In 2011/12 the demise of the secular strategy saw the pendulum swing back towards building relationships with churches and speaking the language of faith, rather than maximising income by successfully marketing Christian Aid to secular audiences. One staff member who witnessed the shift towards professionalism and then back again said that: "When I started, there were… lots of people who had worked for Christian Aid for a long time, and who were working

[494] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:16:50 – 0:17:52.
[495] Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity.* Internal document, September 2011, 1.
[496] Ibid, 2.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:23:44 – 0:24:31; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:11:44 – 0:12:34; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:08:21 – 0:08:54; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 016:50 – 0:17:52; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:26:39 – 0:27:20; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:18:31 – 0:20:28.
[499] Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:08:18 – 0:09:09.

for a conviction and had a kind of different spiritual formation, maybe a more radical one [associated] with liberation theology. And then… there's lots of young people who had degrees and things, but were on a professional trajectory, a charity trajectory, so they might go and work somewhere else."[500] This view was held not only in UK-based teams responsible for fundraising, but also in international teams. One staff member in a leadership position in the International Department said, "We… hired a lot of people, especially when they were expatriates, who were recruited because of their technical skills and not because they understood the language of the church."[501]

The attitudes of staff towards professionalisation were not, however, wholly negative. One interviewee suggested that to be effective it was necessary to hold a professional outlook, alongside a prophetic "heart."[502] Interestingly, this interviewee was also one of those most concerned about the loss of Christian Aid's prophetic voice.[503] "I think we've got to always learn from the professional development learning. But we mustn't keep going down this road of professionalising. So I think it's a difference between can you ensure that you have good practice, ensure you learn from other development practitioners, but… [a concurrent belief] in corporatised development takes the heart out of it and also makes you less effective."[504] As with many other aspects of Christian Aid's identity and work affected by the shift from the secular to the sacred, this interviewee claimed a balance is required between the professional and the prophetic if Christian Aid is to fulfill its mandate successfully.

Christian Aid's sponsoring churches, though, see professionalism as one of the organisation's greatest strengths. When asked what the Church of England would lose if it didn't work in partnership with Christian Aid, a staff member employed within the denomination replied: "a highly professional and credible staff working on behalf of the interests of its partners and churches in the UK."[505] Another staff member of a sponsoring church said losing its partnership with Christian Aid would entail a loss of "really good information, good situation analysis of what's

[500] Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 0:23:07 – 0:23:55.
[501] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:12:02 – 0:12:43.
[502] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:24:51.
[503] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:19:07 – 0:19:43.
[504] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:24:51 – 0:25:20.
[505] Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:16:22 – 0:16:48.

going on… [Christian Aid is] working at a professional level, of course."[506] From the perspective of the churches, which constitute Christian Aid's most significant stakeholders, professionalism is an asset to be valued. This is a surprising insight, considering these same staff of sponsoring churches[507] expressed disappointment and frustration regarding Christian Aid's pursuit of secular markets. This view of the secular strategy suggests that professionalism, while valued, must be used wisely and with sensitivity to culture and context, given the value of Christian Aid's partnership with the churches.

When discussing the tension between the values of inclusivity, professionalism and the ability to be prophetic, two staff participants[508] suggested that Christian Aid would do well to look to the example of colleagues in country offices and at international partner organisations. This would help Christian Aid understand how these values could be embodied in mutually beneficial ways, rather than being viewed as competing and mutually exclusive forces. Citing African staff and partners,[509] in particular, the two interviewees maintained that faith could be lived out and expressed through a prophetic voice, without compromising either professionalism or inclusivity in the process. Having worked in the UK and across different countries within Africa, they felt that this was achieved far more successfully in many of the latter than in the former.[510] Until the dichotomy between professionalism and propheticism is broken down in the UK context, tensions will continue to flare between those who believe the organisation is driven by the former, and those who believe it is driven by the latter. Some commentators on organisational values suggest such tension is unlikely to create an environment in which Christian Aid can flourish.

5.3. CONCLUSION

Values determine the core purpose and distinct character of organisations. In Christian Aid's articulation of its values, its core purpose – to tackle poverty and injustice through strong motivation drawing upon Christian teaching – is clear. But its character is somewhat opaque. Is Christian Aid's character defined by being

[506] Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:20:33 – 0:21:17.
[507] Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:03:15 – 0:04:55; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:05:28 – 0:10:27; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:06:50 – 0:07:24.
[508] Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:14:54; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:07:32 – 0:08:12.
[509] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:07:32 – 0:08:12.
[510] Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:14:54; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:07:32 – 0:08:12.

inclusive of all? Or is it defined by a Christian ethos, within which love and care may be extended to all? Is Christian Aid a professional organisation to which specialists are recruited to perform very specific roles within a large operation? Or are relationships, nurtured over the long-term, prioritised over short-term outcomes achieved by focused professionals? In determining exactly what the "desirable goals that motivate action"[511] are for Christian Aid, these questions must be addressed.

Motivation is a central feature of Schwartz's exploration of values. Christian Aid's corporate articulation of its values outlines a very clear Christian motivation. It draws inspiration from Jesus' earthly ministry[512] and his command to love God and our neighbour.[513] However, staff expressed doubts about the degree of ownership felt for these corporately articulated values. They considered them weaker than they could have been and unsuitable for guiding staff behaviour. The corporate document is a list of values with a Christian basis, rather than a value framework deeply rooted in Christian theology of faith in action.[514] This suggests that staff concerns about the loss or attenuation of Christian Aid's prophetic voice because of excessive attention to both inclusivity and professionalism are not unfounded. Christian Aid's articulation of its faith motivation has been weakened by the loss of confidence in its Christian identity brought about by the secular strategy. This has created a lacuna in the organisation's values where there should be a prophetic message. By asking the key question of what desirable goals motivate Christian Aid's action, the organisational discourse could draw on the implicit theological discourse of staff, staff of sponsoring churches, and supporters. This would help Christian Aid articulate in stronger and more definite terms the values that drive its work.

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[511] Shalom H. Schwartz, 'An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.' *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2:1, 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116. Viewed March 11, 2014, 3.
[512] Core Belief 1, Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Internal document, September 2011, 1.
[513] Core Belief 3, Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Internal document, September 2011, 2.
[514] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:34:18 – 0:34:48.

6. CHRISTIAN AID'S THEOLOGIES OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Asked to comment on Christian Aid's theology of international development, one interviewee – a senior leader within one of Christian Aid's 41 sponsoring churches – expressed the hope that Christian Aid "doesn't have a theology, it has theolo*gies.* I would really hope it has a broad approach… [They are] theologies which [are] very much based on a rights-based approach, based on human dignity, understandings of the common good. I do think there is still some way that Christian Aid could go in setting out its paradigm, in setting out its theology… all of the theology from which it draws. Rather than developing a theology of this, a theology of that, a theology of the Holy Land or whatever, it would be nice if there was a more coherent theology…"[515] This comment taps into one of the key weaknesses not only of Christian Aid, but of the broader work of the ecumenical movement on international development: no coherent theology has emerged as an over-arching framework for protestant Christian development practice in the way that CST has done for Catholic development organisations. Rather, theologies reflecting upon certain issues have proliferated. They have, in many cases, served to entrench particular positions rather than unite churches behind a common goal, with common motivation, guided by shared reflection on action.

In her exploration of Christian theologies of development with relation to Christian Aid, Thia Cooper asserted: "The Christian basis for development is not clear. There is not a prominent theology of development in the same way that the theology of liberation emerged from Latin America in the 1960s and 70s."[516] Cooper substantiates this statement by highlighting the WCC's failure to produce a theology of development, a point already discussed in Section 4.2.3 of Chapter One. Rather than outlining a coherent theology of development, the WCC instead produced a bibliography of material on the subject, leaving a gap "between formal theologies and the practice of development on the ground."[517] As one of the WCC's most prominent progeny, Christian Aid has arguably suffered from a similar gap between formal theology and development practice. The confusion and resulting stagnation to which Cooper drew attention in the WCC's processes has not been directly replicated in Christian Aid's attempts to articulate its theology of

[515] Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:12:59 – 0:14:23.
[516] Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Political Theology: Development or Liberation?* SCM Press, London, 2007, 4.
[517] Ibid, 32.

development. But – as evidence already cited in this chapter suggests – confusion continues to surround the organisation's theological position on development. An attempt was made to lay this confusion to rest by creating a rigid and narrow explicit theology, based on the highly academic concept of relational theology. But in the view of five of the 30 interviewees,[518] this attempt has seen Christian Aid's theological discourse stagnate. The explicit theology has been unresponsive to new ideas emerging from the organisation's implicit discourse, and it has been set apart to exist alongside, rather than as an integral part of, Christian Aid's work.[519]

This section will examine Christian Aid's theologies of development from three different perspectives. It will look first at the organisation's explicit theology and the responses of staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches to this interpretation of Christian Aid's work. Following this exploration of the formal, academic and in some ways normative theological voice at work within Christian Aid, the key implicit theology of partnership will be examined and compared with the explicit theology. Finally, this section will examine the major null theology identified through the contributions of research participants and by listening to the silences within Christian Aid's discourse. This lacuna is formed by Christologies of development from below.

The breadth of ideas and approaches running across the strands of Christian Aid's theological discourse would reassure the interviewee previously quoted that Christian Aid does indeed manifest in its work multiple theolog*ies*. But the question of whether Christian Aid is ready and willing to own and respond to all of these strands of thought would, perhaps, be disquieting to someone hoping to find diversity and responsive thought within the organisation's theological discourse.

[518] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:31 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:32:58 – 0:33:10; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:02:55 – 0:03:13; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:27:54 – 0:28:32; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:05:37 – 0:05:58.

[519] Interviewee 3 compared the separation of Christian Aid's explicit theology from the organisation's wider work unfavourably to the situation that had prevailed when he first joined the organisation. "Mid-80s to the mid-90s, I think there was the kind of justice-based, gospel-based theology which wasn't necessarily articulated on its own, you know, as a discreet articulation, but that actually informed Christian Aid's policy and I think there was a close relationship between policy statements and our theological foundation." Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:02:55 – 0:03:13.

6.1. CHRISTIAN AID'S EXPLICIT THEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

The stated objective of the 2010 Christian Aid paper *Theology and International Development* is to "consolidate Christian Aid's recent theological thinking on critical issues in its development work," looking at how "Christians and the churches respond to the challenges of international development" and how "relational theology might underlie our organisational structures, providing a theological underpinning for accountability and transparency and for the relationships between the organisation, its partners and beneficiaries and supporters."[520] This chapter has already touched on the question of whether relational theology does – in the opinion of staff, supporters, and staff of sponsoring churches – underpin Christian Aid's work and structures. Before embarking upon a fuller investigation of whether that assertion is reflected in the contributions of research participants, though, a brief grounding in 'relational theology' is necessary.

First laid out in the 2004 report *Theology and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, Christian Aid's relational theology is modeled on Karl Barth's work. This reflects "the love of the triune God for his people since the moment of creation, and God's continuing involvement in the well-being of the created world through an eternally existing covenantal relationship… If covenantal relationships between God and his people and, by extension, between those people themselves, are to be restored and maintained, the various forms of injustice that underlie the spread of HIV have to be addressed."[521] Similar articulations of relational theology, all tied to Barth's understandings of covenant and creation, are offered in each of the subsequent reports, which cover HIV, climate change, tax, and theologies of development from the perspectives of the global north (2010) and global south (2012). It is the latter two reports that this research project focuses on, for reasons outlined in Section 2 of this chapter.

Relational theology is a broad and variously interpreted area. Its diversity is not fully represented in any of the seven reports that make up Christian Aid's explicit theology. Karl Barth's concepts of creation and covenant are consistently cited, but are not explored in any depth, and few other thinkers in the field are referenced.[522]

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[520] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 2.
[521] Christian Aid, *Theology and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. Christian Aid, London, 2004, 3.
[522] Jurgen Moltmann's work is referenced briefly in Christian Aid, *Theology and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. Christian Aid, London, 2004, 1. The 2012 report, *Theology from the Global South* exhibits the

A straightforward outline of relational theology, independent of Barth's ideas, is not offered. This could explain – at least in part – why some participants admitted to not understanding the concept.[523]

Such a straightforward understanding of relational theology which is required could be similar to that offered by Thomas Jay Oord:

> What makes relational theology distinct is its general approach to thinking about God's interaction with creation. At its core, relational theology affirms two key ideas:
>
> 1. God affects creatures in various ways. Instead of being aloof and detached, God is active and involved in relationship with others. God relates to us, and that makes an essential difference.
> 2. Creatures affect God in various ways. While God's nature is unchanging, creatures influence the loving and living Creator of the universe. We relate to God, and creation makes a difference to God.[524]

Creation is explicitly referred to in this definition; covenant is not. Oord instead uses the broader and more easily understood terminology of 'relationship'. In contrast, the definition of relational theology in the 2010 report on Christian Aid's theological approach to international development presumes the reader possesses in-depth of knowledge of a variety of theological concepts:

> In Barth's writing, creation and covenant – God's eternal relationship with humankind – are inextricably linked. Creation has prepared the covenant and become the unique sign of it. So Barth brings together the Old

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greatest breadth of influences, drawing upon the works of a number of theologians from the global South, and on the work being done by theological departments and seminaries in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia.

[523] At an observation session involving five staff members who were not interviewed as part of this project, alongside three who were, three of those who were not interviewed asserted that they had never heard of Christian Aid's 'relational' theology and that they didn't understand what this term meant. Observation 23, November 22, 2013, session notes.

[524] Thomas Jay Oord, 'Introduction: What is Relational Theology?' *Relational Theology: A contemporary introduction.* Brint Montgomery, Thomas J. Oord and Karen Winslow (eds.), Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 2.

> Testament teaching on creation and covenant and the New Testament revelation of Jesus Christ and the church's doctrine of the Trinity.[525]

In Cameron et al's typology of four theological voices, the formal theological voice is that written to engage in dialogue with other theologians[526] – of which the quoted definition of relational theology is an excellent example. This is not language easily accessible to development practitioners seeking theological reflection on their work. 'Covenant' as a characterisation of God's relationship with his people is not explored; nor is how the revelation of Jesus Christ in the New Testament contributes to this covenantal relationship. However, the report does go on to explain how a relational theology rooted in these complex concepts can be relevant to international development.

The primacy of relationship is a concept diffused throughout Christian Aid's explicit theology. This theology's understanding of development relies almost completely on Barth's conception of relationship. But the interpretation of relationship taken from Barth's *Church Dogmatics* is partial and problematic. At no point is Christian Aid's work characterised as a response to divine command, which features so heavily in Barth's thinking.[527] Relationality is seized on as the single aspect of Barth's work relevant to Christian Aid. It is used without reference to the broader – and more difficult – context within which Barth places it. Instead, the relational theology built upon this partial interpretation of Barth is seen as a Christian formation of rights-based development models. "God has entered into a relationship with human beings, embodying his nature of both love and justice. God expects that human beings will reflect those qualities of relationship in their dealings with each other, and these relationships can be properly framed in terms of human rights and responsibilities."[528] Christian Aid's explicit theology considers that working with rights "is consistent with biblical teaching on justice."[529]

In discussing this claim, the 2010 *Theology of International Development* report draws on the work of both Sen and Nussbaum – thereby conflating "rights" and

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[525] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 13.
[526] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 54.
[527] Nigel Biggar, *The Hastening that Waits: Karl Barth's Ethics.* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, 16-20.
[528] Rt. Revd. John Pritchard, 'Preface.' Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 3.
[529] Ibid, 2.

"capabilities."[530] It concludes that working towards a "decent life" (Nussbaum's terminology), in Christian terms, "adds up to recognising the image of God in other people."[531] Christian Aid's explicit theology therefore reaches the same conclusion outlined in Section 5.2 of Chapter One of this thesis: that the inherent dignity and worth of all people is an understanding common to both the capabilities approach and to Christian thinking on development. Rights are central to an understanding of capabilities; they are not analogous to Christian thought. Although Christian Aid's approach to development is one which "works *with* rights rather than being based upon them,"[532] the 2010 paper works hard to justify Christian engagement with rights. It uses the work of Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham to give the argument a historical perspective, and claims that rights must be understood within the context of the community rather than simply in relation to the individual.[533] However, the report refuses to explicitly name either the individual or the community as the focus of Christian Aid's work. "One cannot maximise either individual rights (and, in their name, destroy particularistic values and the communities on which they are based) or community (thus ignoring our obligations to all human beings)."[534] The Ten Commandments are then identified as the basis for the individual's relationship with both God and the community,[535] as evidence that within Christian doctrine individuals hold responsibilities (or commitments, in Sen's characterisation[536]). Christian Aid's explicit theology uses this argument to attempt to resolve the tension caused by naming Amartya Sen – a secular thinker who has been criticised for his individualistic approach to development – as a key influence in its Christian articulation of development.[537] Such a resolution would allow the rights-based elements of Christian Aid's development discourse and theology to be fully embraced as Christian concepts

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[530] The paper asserts that "there's an obvious similarity in wording between these discussions of capabilities and human rights. Poverty means the inability to be educated – or the denial of a person's right to an education; poverty means the inability to have food or shelter – or, equally, the denial of the right to food/clean water and the right to a home, and so on." Ibid, 8.
[531] Ibid, 8.
[532] Ibid, 8.
[533] Ibid, 9. "The concept of a charter of universal human rights emerged not from a single individual but from a community; not from a local tribal community but a trans-global one, in the days when the term 'globalisation' was yet to be coined. The outrages perpetrated by one section of this global 'community' against another, and by sub-communities of human beings with this community against another, during the Second World War were the driving force behind the UN Declaration."
[534] Ibid, 9.
[535] Ibid, 9.
[536] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 244.
[537] Severin Deneulin, 'Beyond Individual Freedom and Agency: Structures of living together in the capability approach.' *The Capability Approach: Concepts, measures and applications.* Flavio Comim, Mozaffar Qizilbash and Sabina Alkire (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 106. Peter Evans, 'Collective Capabilities, Culture, and Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom.*' *Studies in Comparative International Development,* 37, Summer 2002, 256.

informing praxis. However, it is clear from the response to Christian Aid's theology from both international partners and those working for and with the organisation in the UK that a rights-based relational theology is not embedded within Christian Aid's wider theological discourse. The broader influence of this framework is therefore questionable.

In the course of this research, only one participant mentioned a relational theology of development as a significant element of Christian Aid's organisational discourse. Of the two references this participant made, one in an interview and the other in an observation session discussing Christian Aid's relationship with the global church, the participant questioned what a relational theology meant for Christian Aid and how the organisation was working to embed this concept into all areas of practice.[538] As Section 2 of this chapter has already outlined, all other participants either made reference to relational theology to say they didn't properly understand it,[539] or omitted to mention it, even when asked specifically about Christian Aid's explicit theological discourse.[540] Participants had a slightly better understanding of the relevance for Christian Aid of a rights-based approach, but even this was true of only three interviewees,[541] two of them staff of sponsoring churches.[542] Each acknowledged that Christian Aid's approach to, and theology of, development works with rights, but is not fully embedded in a rights framework.[543] Two of these three interviewees critically questioned Christian Aid's adoption of a rights-based approach. One of them, who had been the only interviewee to demonstrate an understanding of relational theology, said: "Whilst our language predominantly is [of a] rights-based approach to development, if we sit under Archbishop Rowan

[538] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:59:03 – 0:59:38: "So Christian Aid's theology, which is a golden nugget – that sense of relational theology. How do we work that out in relationship with our God, but more so relationships with each other? Since half the time we don't like one another [laughter]." Interviewee 7 in Observation 6, September 27, 2012, 0:11:44 – 0:12:08: "If Christian Aid is a world view, its anchor position is based upon a relational theology that we are all created equally, we all have responsibility to each other locally and globally, what does that mean?"

[539] At an observation session involving five staff members who were not interviewed as part of this project, alongside three who were, three of those who were not interviewed asserted that they had never heard of Christian Aid's 'relational' theology and that they didn't understand what this term meant. Observation 23, November 22, 2013, session notes.

[540] Every interviewee was asked about Christian Aid's theology of development, usually using the language of 'Christian Aid's theology reports.' Only interviewee 7 responded by talking about relational theology; all 29 other interviewees spoke about Christian Aid's explicit theological discourse without using this terminology, or engaging with the concept of a relational theology of development based upon Karl Barth's thinking.

[541] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:08:02 – 0:09:12; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:09:41 – 0:11:03 and 0:17:21 – 0:19:07; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:13:14 – 0:14:03.

[542] Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:09:41 – 0:11:03 and 0:17:21 – 0:19:07; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:13:14 – 0:14:03.

[543] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:08:02 – 0:09:12; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:09:41 – 0:11:03 and 0:17:21 – 0:19:07; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:13:14 – 0:14:03.

long enough, ie if you've been to more than three of his talks, you'll hear a common theme going through. Which is that it needs to be much more [than the rights-based approach], because that does not speak to the relationship between God and his people, and people and other people."[544] It could be argued that Christian Aid's explicit theology is attempting to take this extra step – to extend the reach of a rights framework to work with concepts of relationality, with one another and with God. However, if this is the case, the approach has not been sufficiently embedded into reflection on Christian Aid's day-to-day action to be understood by the majority of staff, supporters, and staff of sponsoring churches. Crucially, the concept of rights as being key to relationship does not come through in the 2012 report, *Theology from the Global South*, which is built on reflections of Southern theologians on development issues. The report acknowledges that "up to now, Christian Aid's work has been explicitly underpinned by relational theology formulated in the global North. With this paper, that theology has been developed and complemented by reflections of theologians from across the global South."[545] It also concedes that support for rights-based development is concentrated in the global North, and that "many theologians in the global South will be part of this religion-centred culture, and some of them will share a distrust of the human rights agenda: that is neither a criticism nor a plaudit, but simply a recognition of their context."[546] Only two glancing references are made to rights in the remainder of the paper.[547] So while theologians in the global North consider rights and capabilities a significant element of Christian Aid's theology, Southern theologians and Christian development organisations in the global South deploy a different interpretive lens to their situation. They acknowledge rights but give other frames of reference priority.

One of the most significant of these frames is partnership. Between the publication of the 2010 theology report and the 2012 report, Christian Aid launched its new corporate strategy, *Partnership for Change*. This formalised the organisation's shift

[544] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:08:02 – 0:09:12.
[545] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 4.
[546] Ibid, 4.
[547] Ibid, 24-5 and 28. The paper quotes Zimbabwean theologian Ezra Chitando, addressing questions of religion and gender. "Churches must help their male members to respect the rights of women and children and to forgo the privileges bestowed by patriarchy." (24-5) South African theologian Professor Ernst Conradie is also quoted, this time on the subject of corporate guilt within South African society for apartheid. "They could easily enough distance themselves from the gross violations of human rights perpetrated by certain individuals. Being a tacit beneficiary of apartheid was discussed much less in the white English-speaking community where this notion would also be relevant." (28)

from being motivated by income to being motivated by relationship. This shift can be interpreted as indicative of the rejection of a secular approach and the embracing of a faith-centric approach to development. While the 2010 report reflects extensively on the concept of relationship, through the articulation of a rights-oriented relational theology of development, partnership is rarely mentioned.[548] Christian Aid's explicit theology did not use the term 'partnership' in any significant or theologically weighted way in the 2010 report. It is clear that Christian Aid's new corporate strategy, and the input, for the first time, of Southern theologians and partners, brought the concept of partnership to the fore in the 2012 report. 'Relationship' is a broad, inclusive term. It can be variously interpreted and is, in the context of Christian Aid's explicit discourse, theologically weighted. Partnership, in contrast, has very particular implications for Christian Aid and for those with whom the organisation works throughout the world. The term is overlaid with understandings of mutuality, equality, respect and shared goals. 'Relationship' does not have these same connotations for those working for and with Christian Aid. These different understandings of relationship and partnership are just one example of the gap between the explicit theological discourse of Christian Aid and the implicit theologies articulated by research participants.

6.2. Explicit and Implicit Theologies of Partnership

The ideas articulated in the 2010 *Theology and International Development* report were "the result of extensive consultation with church leaders, Christian Aid supporters and staff in Britain and Ireland."[549] Rather than reflecting upon the ideas of partners and communities with whom Christian Aid works across the global South in the same report, the Executive Summary explains that "a subsequent report will explore the theological responses from churches, ecumenical groups and partners in the global South."[550] As a result, the 2010 and 2012 reports read together as voices in the global North laying out Christian Aid's theology of development, and Southern voices responding to a fixed paradigm, rather than being part of shaping that paradigm. It is not the role of this study to compare those theologies guiding Christian Aid's work in the UK and those

[548] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 3, 6, 10, 23.
[549] Ibid, 2.
[550] Ibid, 2.

theologies guiding the work of partners internationally.[551] However, it *is* within the scope of this research to examine Christian Aid's explicit theology, and the theological reflection of partners that forms an element of this in the 2012 report.

The explicit theology's justification for the predominance of Northern voices up to 2012 is that: "Theological reflection is a luxury for hard-pressed people in many of the countries in which Christian Aid works."[552] However, the plethora of Southern theologians quoted in the 2012 report calls this claim into question. So, too, does the influence many interviewees say Southern partners' theological reflections have had on Christian Aid's UK-based staff. One-third[553] of the 22 Christian Aid staff members interviewed suggested that Southern partners have the capacity to bring their theological reflection to bear on their work very effectively – perhaps more effectively than staff in the UK, who have been heavily influenced by the secular strategy. One interviewee said that working with Christian Aid partners and poor communities in various African countries had "reinforced again for me what I've always known, which is that at the community level, particularly on the African continent, even if the partner organisations are not faith-based per se, many, many people and many of those organisations' identities comes from a reading of the Bible in that context."[554] Another interviewee suggested that these strong reflections from Southern partners were not used enough in Christian Aid's explicit theology or in the worship materials written for churches in the UK.[555]

The one place in Christian Aid's explicit discourse where Southern voices are given precedence is in the 2012 report, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work*. The (Northern-authored) introduction to this paper claims that, when discussed with Southern partners, the major themes of Christian Aid's

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[551] A comparative study of Christian Aid's theology of development with that of one or more of the organisation's Southern partners was considered as part of this project, but it was decided that such an undertaking would cause the scope of the thesis to become too broad. It is the intention that the thesis will focus upon the theologies of development at work within Christian Aid, and that a subsequent research project will build upon this foundation through the comparison of Christian Aid's theology of development with that of partner organisations. Although staff working internationally were interviewed as part of this project, no partners were interviewed and so no claim can be made to represent the views of partner organisations. See the Introduction to this thesis for a broader discussion of this point.

[552] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 2.

[553] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:32:30 – 0:32:48; Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:40:22 – 0:42:10; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:26:02 – 0:27:54; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:19:32 – 0:19:51; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:12:13 – 0:12:51; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:19:07 – 0:22:31; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:16:07 – 0:16:35.

[554] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:12:13 - 0:12:51.

[555] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:32:30 – 0:32:48.

explicit theology found resonance. "The language of relationship is regularly and widely used, not least by people who would not see themselves as talking the language of relational theology."[556] However, what comes through most clearly in this paper through the excerpts from the written works of partners, and the account of the 2011 Nairobi consultation,[557] is that the language of partnership, rather than that of relationship, speaks most meaningfully to the people and organisations across the world that work with Christian Aid. As Section 6.1 of this chapter discussed, partnership and relationship can be seen as two sides of the same coin; but greater clarity is needed in Christian Aid's discourse as to how these terms are differentiated and understood. The Northern-authored explicit theology speaks the language of relationship and relational theology; the implicit theological discourse of Christian Aid's UK staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches is more aligned with Southern voices in speaking the language of partnership.

Partnership is, according to the conclusions of the Nairobi consultation, based on "shared convictions and aspirations"[558] – an understanding that both parties in the partnership are working to achieve a mutual goal. In contrast, relationship can have negative as well as positive connotations. The 2010 report, *Theology and International Development* focuses as much attention on the potential of 'right' relationships to bring about positive change, as broken relationships have to cause and perpetuate poverty.[559] Relationships can be both the driver of and the solution to poverty; partnership is an alliance formed specifically for the latter purpose, through which all parties gain some benefit. One staff member, who works in Christian Aid's International Division with partners across Asia and the Middle East, suggested that partnership is "that sense that it's communities being able to voice their own needs, their concerns, and how Christian Aid, working with our partners, [is] able to empower them, mobilise them, educate them… To actually be able to take their… view as a demand-driven agenda."[560] The conflation of the terms 'partnership' and 'relationship' in the 2012 report – which claims that discussion of partnership is analogous to relational theology[561] – denies Christian Aid's partners and the organisation's implicit theology the opportunity to direct Christian Aid's

[556] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 3.
[557] See section 4.2.4 of this chapter.
[558] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 13.
[559] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 2.
[560] Observation 12, October 30, 2012, 0:34:44 – 0:35:47.
[561] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 3.

explicit theological discourse towards a clearer understanding of this very important concept – a concept at the root of the organisation's reflection and praxis.

Partnership undoubtedly has a relational basis, as the Nairobi statement acknowledges,[562] but beyond this basis it has much more particular connotations. It is "grounded in a spirit of mutuality and careful stewardship of God's resources entrusted to us for the poor and vulnerable" and requires a process of "reflecting theologically together to understand our different and complementary gifts and strengths as we are each called to participate in God's mission and action in the world."[563] This definition of partnership bears some comparison with the relational theology laid out in Christian Aid's explicit discourse, but cannot be conflated into the same understanding – a fact the reports making up the explicit theology, in particular the 2012 report, fail to explore.

6.3. Christology from Below as a Null Theology

One interviewee, a fairly new member of Christian Aid's staff, began his interview by saying: "I've noticed that people at Christian Aid don't like to talk about Jesus, do they?"[564] Despite this observation, ten interviewees[565] claimed Jesus was in some way important to Christian Aid's implicit discourse of development. Six[566] of these did so to voice concerns that Jesus is not a significant enough part of the organisation's explicit discourse. Despite the number of conversations about the role of Jesus, the interviewee quoted above was, to some extent, correct – every time interviewees made a reference to Jesus they gave the impression they were speaking about a subject that was new, unfamiliar or not quite comfortable. Christology was made null as a theological strand of thought within Christian Aid over the secular period, during which time discussion of Jesus' role within Christian

[562] Ibid, 14.
[563] Ibid.
[564] Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes.
[565] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:21 – 0:05:26; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:28:34 – 0:28:54; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:09 – 0:10:55; Interview 7, September 7, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:13:40 and 0:16:12 – 0:16:24; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-record notes; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:14:31 – 0:14:49 and 0:15:03 – 0:15:34; Interview 26, February 26, 2013 0:17:14 – 0:17:27 and 0:37:26 – 0:37:47; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:02:30 – 0:02:37; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:40 – 0:22:07; Interview 30, June 6, 2013, 0:04:02 – 0:04:16 and 0:13:34 – 0:13:42 and 0:28:04 – 0:28:47.
[566] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:21 – 0:05:26; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:28:34 – 0:28:54; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:09 – 0:10:55; Interview 7, September 7, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:13:40 and 0:16:12 – 0:16:24; Interview 26, February 26, 2013 0:17:14 – 0:17:27 and 0:37:26 – 0:37:47; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-record notes.

Aid's work was limited to the representation of Jesus and the role accorded to him within the organisation's explicit theology.

The 2010 report, *Theology and International Development*, touches on the earthly acts and teachings of Jesus, but its focus is Jesus' divinity, rather than his humanity. In particular, the report emphasises Jesus' role in bringing new meaning to the relationship between God and humans. "From creation, there has been a special relationship between God and humans; and this relational aspect of God (shown in his covenant relationship with people in the Old Testament, and in a new relationship through Jesus Christ in the New Testament) in turn, determines *how we behave to one another.*"[567] This emphasis on Jesus' role in the relationship of God and human, and on his healing miracles,[568] is part of the reason Christian Aid's explicit theology reads as a Christology from above, focused on Jesus' divinity, rather than a Christology from below, focused on his humanity. The single reference that could constitute the latter is generalised rather than particular, claiming that: "Jesus was, indeed, deeply concerned for people who were poor or in some way on the fringes of society. He associated freely and often with the marginalised – 'tax collectors and sinners' – and welcomed the company of women and children and others held in low esteem in the culture of his day. Such people were the object of many of his healing miracles, and they took their place among his followers."[569] Here, Jesus' humanity is bound up in his divinity, his healing miracles are evidence of his association with those on the margins of society.

Diagram 8:

[567] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 12.
[568] Ibid, 17, 27 and 30.
[569] Ibid, 29.

It is perhaps predictable that the majority of references to Jesus in the explicit theology are associated with God and divinity, but this does bear out one staff member's suggestion that the organisation is far more comfortable talking about God than about Jesus.[570] Christian Aid's explicit theology was largely written during a time when the organisation didn't talk publicly about the faith on which it was founded.[571] If such discussion did happen it was more likely to be about God, a concept to which a majority of people could relate, rather than Jesus, a concept to which only Christians or those from a majority-Christian society tend to relate. To speak about Jesus was seen as being exclusive; to speak about Jesus as a central part of the relationship between God and humans was less exclusive than to speak about Jesus as a powerful entity in his own right.

The conclusion of the 2010 report is a telling illustration of the way in which Christian Aid's explicit discourse skims over the role of Jesus to focus on that of God. "And so we need to ask ourselves: where do we look in order to look to Jesus? And where, as Barth also puts it, do we see God looking, particularly in the New Testament? Yes, he looks at the poor, but not always with unqualified approval; yes, he looks at the rich, but not always with unqualified condemnation; and yes, he looks at how rich and poor work together in the early Christian community. Through St Paul's writings we see that God is not to be detached from political and social structures, and in working for social justice today, we cannot look away from them."[572] But instead of simply stating that God is engaged in political and social structures, the organisation could draw on the many powerful illustrations of this idea in the words and acts of Jesus. Five interviewees[573] reflected on the way in which Jesus needs to become a more central element of Christian Aid's explicit theology. One staff member, who works in a country office and engages with the organisation's partners on a daily basis, spoke of how she draws inspiration from the radical Jesus in liberation theologies. "Christ was not following any religion – he was actually dismantling the religious structures of his time."[574] A UK-based staff member echoed this idea of Jesus as religiously, politically and socially radical. He

[570] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:17:14 – 0:17:27.
[571] Interview 5, September 25, 2012 0:4:35 – 0:05:07; Interview 6, October 4, 2012 0:01:44 – 0:04:40.
[572] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 30.
[573] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:13:03 – 0:13:40; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-record notes; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:17:14 – 0:17:27; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:40 – 0:22:07; Interview 30, June 6, 2013, 0:04:02 – 0:04:16.
[574] Interview 30, June 6, 2013, 0:04:02 – 0:04:16.

spoke about Jesus' procession into Jerusalem on a colt, posing a direct challenge to the Roman procession entering the city from the other side of the city. "Jesus is Lord, Caesar is not."[575] One staff member of a sponsoring church echoed these interpretations of Jesus' words and actions: "Throughout scripture there are so many places, particularly in the New Testament, and especially in the gospels, [when] Jesus is always saying, in essence, 'Okay, what are you going to do about this then? I was hungry, and you did not feed me.'"[576] Interviewees saw these challenges issued by Jesus to the social norms of his day as directly relevant to Christian Aid's work challenging inequality. One interviewee bemoaned the fact that Christian Aid does not take its lead from Jesus in more stridently opposing unjust power: "We always end up being reformist rather than revolutionary. Despite the fact that I think Jesus wasn't really interested in tweaking about with synagogues."[577] This echoes comments about the perceived demise, outlined in Section 4.2.1, of Christian Aid's prophetic voice. Without a strong Christology from below to sit alongside the existing Christology from above, Christian Aid is struggling to draw meaningful inspiration in its quest to challenge injustice and to inspire churches to be a part of this movement. One interviewee suggested that Jesus' example of challenging social norms and power structures is deeply threatening to the secular development paradigm.[578] She claimed that if Christian Aid left aside elements of its modernisation objective of development and adopted a "Christ-centred approach,"[579] true equality would become a much stronger dynamic in its work – one it should not be afraid to release.[580] Such extrapolation of the radical influence Jesus could have on Christian Aid is not evident in the 2010 articulation of its explicit theology of development. The understanding of Jesus offered in this paper is closed, fixed within divine relationship with God rather than the grittier, harsher and more radical message that comes through in interviewees' interpretations of Jesus' teaching and actions on earth. For this reason, one interviewee concluded that Christian Aid's explicit discourse "is not Christologically a sound theology, I would say."[581]

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[575] Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-record notes. A quote from Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 208.
[576] Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:40 – 0:22:07.
[577] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:26 – 0:37:47.
[578] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:13:40.
[579] Ibid, 0:16:12 – 0:16:24.
[580] Ibid.
[581] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:32:14 – 0:32:24.

The 2012 report, *Theology from the Global South*, comes closer to reflecting the Jesus of interviewees' implicit Christologies. Quoting extensively from liberation and contextual theologies developed by Christian Aid partners in the global South, it gives Jesus' challenges to power far more attention than the 2010 report. The work of one particular contextual theologian from South Africa, Gerald West, is used extensively to explore how Southern partners deploy theology to address unjust power structures. West interprets Jesus' condemnation of the temple in Mark 13:1-2[582] as "a prophetic and symbolic rejection of this central religious, economic, and political system of Judaism (and Roman occupation)."[583] He says Jesus' actions are so controversial that "even the disciples of Jesus found it difficult to believe."[584] This leads into a powerful exploration of structural sin as so entrenched and accepted in our own context that "we usually do not recognize it. In order to see structural sin for what it is we need those who are the victims of particular structural sins to teach us… The challenge for each of us is to ensure that such are our primary dialogue partners. When we do 'see' systemic sin, we will then hear the challenge of Jesus to renounce its benefits and dismantle it."[585] The systemic sins to which West refers – discrimination and injustice, stemming from gender, race, caste and economic inequality – are the central issues Christian Aid works to combat in its fight against poverty. West's interpretation of Jesus' condemnation of the temple as a refusal to allow structural sin to exploit and marginalise whole segments of society carries a clear call to Christian Aid to be bold and "revolutionary," rather than "reformist."[586] But is it enough to merely include West's reading of this episode in Jesus' life in the 2012 *Theology from the Global South* report? No discussion or exploration of the relevance of this study to Christian Aid's work follows; and despite the clear correlations with the implicit Christologies from below articulated by interviewees, West's study and other Christologies included in the 2012 report have failed to enter and influence Christian Aid's implicit discourse.

Although interviewees articulated Christological thinking in their implicit theological discourse of development, and although the 2012 report reflects on

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[582] Mark 13:1-2. "As he came out of the temple, one of his disciples said to him, 'Look, Teacher, what large stones and what large buildings!' Then Jesus asked him, "Do you see these great buildings? Not one stone will be left here upon another; all will be thrown down."
[583] Christian Aid, *Theology from the Global South: Perspectives on Christian Aid's work.* London, 2012, 32.
[584] Ibid.
[585] Ibid, 32-33.
[586] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:26 – 0:37:47.

Jesus' actions, Christology is considered here to be a null theology within Christian Aid's discourse. Talk about Jesus was suppressed during the organisation's secular period. Reflecting this suppression, the explicit discourse gives God and the divine aspects of Jesus far greater prominence than Christology from below. The political Jesus influences the organisation's implicit discourse, but the ideas expressed by interviewees lack the maturity of strands of thought that have existed in the organisational discourse for some considerable time. There is no indication that the Christologies articulated by partners in the documents quoted in the 2012 report have entered the organisation's wider discourse. These Christological reflections from staff, staff of sponsoring churches, and Christian Aid partners exist on the margins of both the organisation's implicit and explicit theological discourses. They offer uniquely Christian perspectives on how poverty and injustice should be challenged, drawing inspiration from the radical acts of Jesus to provide Christian Aid with a clear means to recapture its prophetic voice.

The secular strategy suppressed talk about Jesus in order to avoid characterising Christian Aid as being exclusively Christian. Now the time is right to bring the marginal Christological discourse out of the shadows and into the centre of the organisation's reflection and praxis. It offers Christian Aid an opportunity to fully embrace a Christian identity.

6.4. Working with Christian Aid's Theologies of Development

Through close attention to the contributions of research participants, to Christian Aid's explicit theological discourse, and to the silences within each, this section has identified two significant areas in which a lack of coherence across the explicit and implicit theological voices has created tension and silence which must be resolved if Christian Aid's praxis is to be aligned with its discourse. Partnership and Christology are both crucial to Christian Aid's self-identity as a faith-based organisation, and to the living out of the organisation's values. However, tension, confusion and fissures between what is fixed in organisational discourse, what is suggested in the implicit theologies of participants, and what is suppressed by or lost in these articulations affect each. Chapter Three will therefore focus upon how the null aspects of Partnership and Christology can be brought into the open in order for coherence between the three theological voices at work within Christian Aid to flourish in a theologically reconciled environment in which discourse and

praxis are mutually complementary rather than elements competing for dominance within the organisation.

7. CONCLUSION

This chapter used a methodology based on critical ethnography and a re-casting of the 'four voices' of practical theology to discover the coherence and dissonance at work between the theological voices within Christian Aid's organisational discourse. It explored how these voices are manifest in the discourse, praxis and reflection of staff, supporters and sponsoring churches in their work with and for Christian Aid. It began by exploring the organisation's previous secular strategy – the origin of many of the tensions between the various theological discourses at work at Christian Aid. A deeper exploration of these tensions followed. The chapter then examined Christian Aid's changing identity and values, and how they interact with the various theologies of international development discernible within the organisation's explicit, implicit and null discourses. This process has shown that Christian Aid is not a theologically unified organisation. The tensions between theological ideas and voices have the potential to enable Christian Aid to grow in theological scope, bringing theological reflection to bear more effectively upon the organisation's development practice than has been the case in the past.

Christian Aid's explicit theology claims to underpin the organisation's structures and identity, providing a model for an accountable and transparent relationship between the organisation, "its partners and beneficiaries, and its supporters."[587] The explicit theology also claims to provide a normative theological discourse that informs reflection on Christian Aid's work to combat poverty. Without a framework of Protestant Christian development thought (akin to Catholic Social Teaching) to guide Christian Aid's work, and without a strong tradition of scriptural reference within the organisation's reflective life, there is a normative space at the heart of Christian Aid's discourse. Explicit theology claims to fill the gap, but this claim is problematic. Research participants consistently articulated implicit theological reflection that did not draw on the relational theology of development in which the explicit discourse is embedded. Instead, they reflected on their own praxis in relation to the life and works of Jesus to guide their day-to-day work.

[587] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 2.

Despite this disconnection, there was evidence of correlation between the key theological ideas in the explicit and implicit discourses considered central to Christian Aid's identity. Both these theological voices consistently expressed their belief in the centrality of inclusivity and in the equality in dignity and worth of all people. However, there exists a gap between the theological understanding of what the explicit discourse terms 'relationship' and what the implicit discourses term partnership. A relational theology of development, as the explicit theology styles itself, does not necessarily embrace the implicit discourse's idea of partnership based on mutual respect, mutual benefit and shared goals as its core concept. The final report in the explicit theology, the 2012 *Theology from the Global South*, acknowledged, through the contributions of Southern partners, the central place of partnership at Christian Aid. But this report tries unsuccessfully to reconcile partnership with relational theology by conflating the two terms – two terms which are, in fact, understood quite differently by the two theological voices.

Still greater gaps between the theological voices were discerned when discussion moved to the most contentious topic: the nature and place of Christology within Christian Aid's theology of development. Despite the explicit theology's clear focus on the divinity of Christ, characterised in this chapter as a Christology from above, the implicit discourse that emerged through interviews and observations drew on the teaching and actions of the historical Jesus, focusing on his humanity rather than his divinity. This gap between the discourses can be understood as a null theology – a space occupied by an issue vital to Christian Aid's theology of development, but which is not openly discussed or addressed, either formally or informally.

The clear dissonance on this vital issue must be resolved if the organisation is to reconcile what it says it is doing (the explicit discourse) with what it informally suggests it is doing (the implicit discourse) and with what is central to the organisation's praxis and reflection but is only ever referred to obliquely, if at all (the null discourse). All three of these voices influence the identity, values, praxis and reflection of Christian Aid, but the influence wielded by all three is not acknowledged. If each voice is to challenge and shape the others through more open discourse, a broader, more dynamic and more fluid conception of what Christian Aid's theology of development is and could be is required. The next

chapter explores what Christian Aid could become if it embraced the suppressed and unexpressed theologies at work within the organisation.

CHAPTER THREE

NEW LIFE IN CHRIST:
A RENEWED THEOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

This final chapter draws together the key strands of discourse outlined in Chapters One and Two, and constructs a renewed theology of international development for Christian Aid. This theology is informed by, and designed to inform, Christian Aid's reflection on and praxis of faith-rooted development. The chapter will respond to the core enquiry of this thesis, articulated as Research Question 1 in the Introduction:

> *Should theology drive the international development work of Christian Aid UK and, if so, how?*

In formulating a response to this enquiry, the chapter will draw on both the ethnographic data presented in Chapter Two, and the academic debates and claims outlined in Chapter One. In constructing such a response to the research question, it is necessary to outline the status of the source material used. The Four Voices of practical theology, a framework used as a reference point within the methodology of this thesis, clearly outlines the basis of the four voices (normative, formal, operant and espoused). It explores how these typically interact. However, in adapting this model to the context of Christian Aid – with its explicit, implicit and null theologies – the issue of normativity is not as clear-cut as it may have been in a straightforward application of the four voices approach. The four voices framework defines normative theology as "the scriptures, creeds, official church teachings and liturgies… The idea of the normative voice of theology is concerned with what the practicing group names as its theological authority."[588] The four voices approach seeks, through practical application, to "enable… a proper challenge to the normative… voice from the theological wisdom of practice."[589] The four voices

[588] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 54.
[589] Ibid, 56.

framework is designed to be used in situations in which scripture provides a shared frame of normative reference for a group or community.[590]

If this framework were applied to Christian Aid, the presumption would be that scripture and official church teaching on development would provide the normative theological frame of reference shared by staff and others associated with the organisation; while Christian Aid's explicit theology would provide a formal exploration of this frame of reference, applying scriptural teaching to the particularities of the organisation's work. However, the reality of the situation is more complex and opaque. Scripture provides the basis for much of Christian Aid's formal discourse (particularly since the return to a faith identity), but does not provide a universally shared frame of reference for the organisation's staff, many of whom are not Christian. This calls the shared normative status of scripture into question. The situation has been exacerbated by the secular mode of operation, during which use of scripture was minimal and theories of rights-based development formed the organisation's normative framework. To add to these complications, Christian Aid is owned by a broad ecumenical family of 41 Protestant churches, with no shared "official church teachings" – such as Catholic Social Teaching – that can be used to explore scripture or contribute to Christian Aid's normative framework.

Normativity is, therefore, a fraught issue for Christian Aid. There is confusion over which normative frame of reference – scripture or rights-based development – now reigns. A vacuum has been created that the organisation's explicit theology, drawing on both scripture and rights-based development theory in its construction of Christian Aid's formal theological voice, claims to fill. But normativity cannot be determined by self-proclamation. In making sense of this confusion, the analysis in this chapter looks to scripture first to provide the normative framework referred to in recent formal organisational discourse. This coheres with the four voices approach and the renewed faith orientation of Christian Aid. It also acknowledges both the organisation's failure to fully embrace this teaching as normative, and the quasi-normative status assumed by the explicit theology. This chapter will then draw on the "wisdom of practice" offered by research participants in interviews and observation sessions to challenge this normative framework. In offering this challenge, I will suggest that scripture should assume a more prominent role within

[590] Ibid, 60.

the organisation's discourse and praxis, fully inhabiting the normative space and providing the basis for the renewed theology of international development I propose.

In constructing a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid and negotiating these contentious questions of normativity in the process, it is helpful to begin by taking a broad view of the role played by theology within other, comparable, organisations. It is useful to question whether it is their theological grounding that gives these entities a distinct character and purpose; and whether faith-based development organisations such as Christian Aid have a claim to a clearly delineated role suspended between church and secular, within which theology should be a driving force. The chapter will explore these questions drawing on two examples offered by other researchers in this field, and will focus on the nature of faith-based development organisations as being in the world, but not of the world.

Following this contextualisation, the chapter will examine the most contentious, impassioned and fertile themes emerging from the analysis of the data in Chapter Two. Christology and partnership were both identified by participants in this research as key to a reconciled, coherent and inclusive theology of development. These areas are currently marginalised, misunderstood or ignored in Christian Aid's explicit theological and organisational discourses. As such, the contributions of research participants challenge the normative framework of Christian Aid's explicit discourse. Within this normative framework, scripture is referenced and deployed in two key ways. First, it is used in a generalised manner in organisational documents, which refer to Christian Aid's work as a response to Jesus' command to love both God and neighbour, and to development as a means of treating all people equally in dignity and worth.[591] No biblical exegesis is carried out in these documents, and scriptural references are broad enough not to alienate non-Christians. Second, scripture provides the normative framework for Christian Aid's explicit theology. However, the interpretation of scripture within this discourse is a particular one. The transcendent is prioritised over the earthly, especially when Jesus' role and ministry are discussed. The explicit theology's scriptural interpretation is consistent in many ways with the ideas of Karl Barth, but these

[591] Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 1.

ideas do not easily correspond with the earthly ministry of faith-inspired development undertaken by staff and supporters of Christian Aid. The contributions of interviewees on this topic, presented in Section 6 of Chapter Two, highlight their struggles to find in Christian Aid's explicit theology the reflective nourishment they need for the work of faith-based development. The contributions of interviewees therefore challenge the interpretation of two key themes in the explicit discourse of Christian Aid: Christology and partnership. They questioned the scriptural interpretation in organisational documents and the explicit theology that underpins the understanding of both themes. This chapter draws on these challenges to Christian Aid's explicit discourse, reconciling this dissonance. It proposes a renewed theology of development that draws on existing discourse and encourages more intentional reflection on the praxis of faith-based development, through a more earthly and more specific understanding of how scripture can provide a normative frame for Christian Aid's work.

Key to this renewed understanding of scripture is a proposed focus upon Christology from below. Interviewees' understanding of Jesus' earthly agenda bears only passing resemblance to the transcendent Jesus of Christian Aid's Barthian explicit theology, which is most concerned with divine influence and bringing this divine influence to bear on earth. This chapter will take up this challenge to Christian Aid's explicit discourse, issued by interviewees. It will look at how a different interpretation of scripture could provide a renewed Christological underpinning to Christian Aid's work. This would reconcile dissonance through a renewed scriptural interpretation of greater relevance to Christian Aid's earthly ministry of development. Scripture therefore remains the normative frame, but this normative frame will be provided by an interpretation of scripture that draws more fully on the implicit and null discourses of Christian Aid. This will provide a theology more reconciled to Christian Aid's day-to-day work and praxis of development than currently exists.

This reconciled theology has the potential to inform reflection on Christian Aid's day-to-day work through a renewed understanding, drawn from scripture, of partnership. Partnership is key to Christian Aid's identity (as explored in Section 4 of Chapter Two), and to the understanding of the organisation's work voiced by staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches. But such understandings are not

reflected in the organisation's explicit theology and, in the eyes of many, are not fully and consistently lived out through its day-to-day praxis. This chapter will examine the idea of justice being brought about through a 'gift economy' to create true equality. It will examine the ways in which Jesus manifest equality through his actions and teachings. It will then propose a renewed theology of development – a theology that has the understanding of partnership voiced by research participants at its heart and is based on their articulation of Christology from below.

Finally, this chapter will explore how, through this enriching Christology of development from below, such a renewed theology could recapture and reinvigorate Christian Aid's prophetic voice. Section 4 of Chapter Two explored the loss of this prophetic voice, showing it to be symptomatic of the loss of the theological driving force behind Christian Aid's work. By making the renewed theology of development the heart and driving force of the organisation, the radical acts of Jesus would reinvigorate the prophetic voice. It would inform the way the organisation works to challenge unjust power in our current global context. By returning in this way to the acts and teachings of Jesus, and interpreting these in light of Christian Aid's development praxis, a theology will be created which can shape, inform, and be informed by the implicit and the null theologies already at work within the organisation.

2. The Nature of Faith-Based Development Organisations

2.1. Introduction

Before such a renewed theological framework can be considered, though, it is worth asking *why* it needs to be considered. What is the nature and distinct character of a faith-based organisation, and must this nature and character have a theological basis? This section seeks to clarify the place of faith-based development organisations such as Christian Aid on a spectrum between, on the one hand, churches and the groups embedded within churches that carry out development-related work; and, on the other, secular development organisations which claim more pragmatic motivations for their work. Sitting between the overtly faith-oriented and the overtly secular modes of development are faith-based development organisations: inspired by faith, influenced by the churches, but operating in an independent space akin to that inhabited by secular agencies. Christian Aid, as a faith-based development organisation, draws support from both

churches and secular institutional donors. By contrast, groups embedded in church structures[592] are commonly funded through their denominational networks.

This section will use two comparative examples to explore the theological basis of faith-based development organisations. Both come from bodies more strongly and consistently rooted in Christian tradition than Christian Aid has been for the past decade: the Salvation Army in the UK, and Habitat for Humanity in the US. These case studies can help Christian Aid learn how to be in the world, but not of the world,[593] having spent several years seeking to be of the world almost completely.

2.2. Secular and Faith Forces

As Chapter One of this thesis outlined in some detail, Christian Aid was originally set up to carry out the development work of the Protestant churches in the UK. By delegating the task of development in this way, churches would be able to influence, direct and fund this work without having to compromise their primary purpose of ministering to communities in the UK. However, the establishment of a separate entity to 'do' development meant the development agency was liable to drift, in a self-directed fashion, away from church influence. Development is an easier and more inclusive message to preach than the gospel, so at one well-documented point the gospel faded into obscurity in Christian Aid's communication of its purpose and identity, and development took centre stage. As Christian Aid's primary concerns came to be seen as practical rather than spiritual, by the time a secular mode of operation predominated, the organisation's theology of development was seen as peripheral to the organisation's work and identity.

In contrast, the Church of England's mission agencies and the Religious orders of the Catholic Church are both integral to, and firmly embedded within, the single denominational tradition from which each springs. Being owned by a single tradition can give an organisation greater focus and strength of purpose. Unlike Christian Aid, mission agencies and Religious orders are not answerable to a plethora of different churches and denominational traditions, so they do not have to compromise their identity to meet the demands of ecumenism. Despite these distinctions, there has been at times significant overlap between the work and priorities of these groups and that of faith-based development organisations, which

[592] Examples of such groups include the Mission Agencies of the Church of England, and Religious orders of the Catholic Church.
[593] Interpretation of John 15:19, offered by Interviewee 1, August 21, 2012, 0:21:53 – 0:22:35.

has stimulated co-operation in the past. The mission agencies of the Church of England exist within, rather than just outside of, the church structure, but often work on issues that correlate with the concerns of Christian Aid. The Five Marks of Mission of the Anglican Communion outlines five key objectives – of which Christian Aid overtly shares three.[594] Co-operation between Christian Aid and the Church of England mission agencies is in its early stages, but the 2010 *World-Shaped Mission* report suggested there are hopes for greater collaboration in the future.[595] This co-operation has arguably become possible because of Christian Aid's reduced fervor to be 'of the world', and because this very same experience of existing 'of the world' has given Christian Aid knowledge, professional expertise, and funding which the mission agencies are currently lacking.[596]

2.3. THE SALVATION ARMY

In contrast to the mission agencies of the Church of England, the Salvation Army shares many structural similarities with Christian Aid. Although its development arm is born of and embedded within a single denomination, the scale and nature of its operations internationally have, like Christian Aid's, attracted institutional funding.[597] Its national and international profile is also significant, larger than that of either Christian Aid or the majority of mission agencies and Religious orders. As a church that also operates as one of the world's largest faith-based organisations, the Salvation Army has maintained a more consistent faith identity than Christian Aid. This consistency is a result of its ownership by a single denomination, and its centralised global governance structure, which means every programme run by its development arm is accountable to the organisation's head, or General.[598] In 2006, then Salvation Army General Shaw Clifton spoke in an interview about the Army's ability to be both a church and a faith-based organisation. He described it as "a

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[594] 'Mark 3: To respond to human need by loving service,' 'Mark 4: To seek to transform unjust structures of society, to challenge violence of every kind, and to pursue peace and reconciliation,' 'Mark 5: To strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life of the earth.' The Five Marks of Mission of the Worldwide Anglican Communion, www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/fivemarks.cfm. Viewed 15 February 2013.
[595] "Current discussions between some of the Anglican Mission Agencies and Christian Aid signal a positive note for the building of mutual understanding and joint working in the future. Built on the foundations of mutually appreciated theological vision, different approaches can be a creative spur in future dialogue. The ultimate purpose of such dialogue is the building of a just world and participating in God's work of reconciliation in the world." Janet Price and the World Mission and Anglican Communion Panel, *World-Shaped Mission: Exploring new frameworks for the Church of England in World Mission.* Church House Publishing, The Archbishop's Council, London, 2012, 54.
[596] Ibid, 50.
[597] The Salvation Army, *Unstoppable: The Salvation Army UK and Republic of Ireland Territory annual review, 2013,* http://www.salvationarmy.org.uk/uki/AnnualReview. Viewed 4 October 2014, 11.
[598] Dean Pallant, *Keeping Faith in Faith-Based Organisations: A practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry.* Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 3.

church and more. We are a church in every possible sense of that word – legally, socially, theologically. We can talk about ourselves as a religious body; we can talk about ourselves as a charitable organisation, a movement, a collection of like-minded persons – but with ultimate loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ. And, of course, we're a human service agency at the same time. Throughout our history we've moved from being an evangelical mission to becoming a fully-fledged Christian denomination. We're not a 'parachurch.' I see the General as a worldwide head of a Christian denomination, as well as leader of all those other manifestations of our life."[599] Despite such clear statements of the Army's identity as first and foremost a church – which sees social action as a manifestation of its spiritual life – it has felt the pressures of operating as a faith-based organisation in secular space. In his 2009 study of the Salvation Army, Henry Gariepy pointed out: "There is constant tension of not allowing its social work to diminish the primacy of the spiritual, and this has not always been resisted with total success."[600]

Dean Pallant addresses this tension at some length in his practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry. Pallant describes a context in which the leadership of the Salvation Army were becoming concerned by "the increasing influence of secularist development thinking in Salvation Army health and development programmes… health and development practitioners were sidelining theological resources."[601] Pallant claims this is a situation facing many faith-based organisations. He refers to the mechanistic mindset that has resulted from the professionalisation of the Salvation Army's approach[602] and the influence of funding bodies on its culture.[603] Examining such pressures in the context of the Salvation Army's health ministry (a term used by Pallant throughout his work, in preference to 'healthcare provision' or any other more instrumental construction), Pallant suggests that "attention be given to the importance of the habits and practices of faith or clarity of *telos*. Therefore, it is important that faith leaders are able to discern the *telos* of the funding agencies. Are funders promoting a secularizing concept of persons – such as the 'autonomous rational individual' – or

[599] Henry Gariepy, *Christianity in Action: The International History of the Salvation Army.* William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Michigan, US and Cambridge, UK, 2009, 68-9.
[600] Ibid, 68.
[601] Dean Pallant, *Keeping Faith in Faith-Based Organisations: A practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry.* Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 4.
[602] Ibid, 171.
[603] Ibid, 73.

are they creating space for the development of 'healthy persons?'"[604] Pallant concludes that crucial to the Salvation Army's faith basis is attention to the *telos* of developing fully healthy persons by emphasising the relational dimensions of the Trinity and resisting the commodification of people as "merely bodies, with no consideration to the importance of an eternal personhood."[605] In his study, Pallant was actively seeking a theologically faithful future for the Salvation Army, at a point when some felt the theological basis for its work was slipping away – a theological basis they believed was vital to the Army's identity as a faith-based organisation.

Even an organisation such as the Salvation Army, with a unified basis for belief, embedded within a single denomination and structure of governance, has felt the pressure to conform to the culture prescribed by institutional funders and the influence of normative secular praxis. Although these tensions are not as dramatic as those at work within Christian Aid, the conflicts which arise as a result of being poised between being theologically driven or being more secular in operation are a familiar ones. It's a path that sets faith-based organisations apart from mission agencies and religious communities, on the one hand, and secular development organisations on the other. The former have not been subjected to secular influences and requirements; and the latter have been not only happy to conform, but in some cases have been involved in setting and perpetuating the normative secular framework.

2.4. HABITAT FOR HUMANITY

A second organisation, which inhabits the contended space between the fully religious and the fully secular, is Habitat for Humanity – a Christian agency originating in the US, which provides housing for the marginalised poor. Jerome Baggett, in his ethnographic study of the US arm of the organisation, begins by quoting James 2:14-17[606] in overt justification of the union of the humanitarian and the spiritual, which is cherished at the heart of Habitat's operation. Baggett explains this union by claiming that: "Habitat is intended to serve as a kind of institutional vessel in which action can be mixed with proclamation, where works

[604] Ibid, 171.
[605] Ibid, 175-6.
[606] James 2:14-17, "If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily food, and one of you says to them, 'Go in peace, be warmed and filled,' without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit? So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead."

are blended with grace."[607] Rather than characterising Habitat as a faith-based organisation, as Pallant does repeatedly of the Salvation Army,[608] Baggett coins the term "para-denominational organisation."[609] It characterises the space Habitat and others inhabit, between the fully religious and the fully secular. "These are typically ecumenical agencies, grounded in religious values and drawing upon church-based constituencies for support, that seek to have an impact on the public at large through social service provision, political mobilization, and consciousness-raising. These organizations are gaining in number and significance because they represent a social form of religion uniquely adapted to the secular tendencies of the modern world."[610] This definition typifies Baggett's positive approach. Rather than viewing faith-based organisations as being under threat from secular forces, he sees their understanding of action as a manifestation of spirituality as being highly suitable to providing a faith presence within a secular world,[611] especially as churches seem to be failing in this task.[612] Moreover, Baggett sees this role as directly modeled on the example of Jesus' life and work. He understands Jesus as "a pragmatist interested in 'real religion' in the real world, not in confounding irrelevancies of denominational identities or doctrinal definitions. He, like Habitat itself, was given to whisking away religious boundaries as if they were just so many lines drawn in the sand."[613]

Baggett's theological analysis of action as the most meaningful and profound expression of Christian love is affirmed by Millard Fuller in his exploration of Habitat's 'theology of the hammer.' As Habitat for Humanity's founder, Fuller claims an overtly ecumenical space for the work of the organisation, showing as little regard for doctrine or denominational difference as Baggett. He suggests that Habitat's work is the ideal earthly response to such difference and will enable us to overcome such concerns. "Maybe, just maybe, God wants us to use 'the theology of the hammer' as a means to draw His divergent family closer together. Perhaps God

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[607] Jerome P. Baggett, *Habitat for Humanity: Building private homes, building public religion.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2001, x.
[608] Dean Pallant, *Keeping Faith in Faith-Based Organizations: A practical theology of Salvation Army health ministry.* Wipf and Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2012, 3-5.
[609] Jerome P. Baggett, *Habitat for Humanity: Building private homes, building public religion.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2001, xii.
[610] Ibid.
[611] "[Paradenominational groups] have become more popular because they are a means by which people 'put legs to' their religious commitments and infuse the secular public sphere with a language and sensibility attuned to the sacred. In a manner that differs from congregations and denominational structures, paradenominational groups have become important institutional vehicles by which the sacred is publicly represented for people through their own everyday actions within the voluntary sector." Ibid, 21.
[612] Ibid, 23.
[613] Ibid, 220.

is calling us to issue a joint invitation to 'the strangers' of this world to come in and enjoy the abundant life that Jesus said he came to bring."[614] Even though Habitat addresses just one specific need caused by poverty – ie, adequate housing – Fuller sees the theology underpinning the delivery of this housing as the single response required to transcend all differences in belief. Baggett makes a similar claim, but with less ambitious zeal.[615] The theology of the hammer espoused by both is deeply embedded in practice rather than doctrine, seeing the former as the way to reconcile differences in the latter. Fuller's only foray into more specific biblical analysis of what he means by the 'theology of the hammer' is somewhat perplexing. He asks: "Can you think of a better idea for drawing the churches together? What better symbol to rally around than a hammer – the tool of Jesus as he worked in the carpenter's shop of Joseph and the tool that was used to nail him to the cross! Churches can increasingly use this simple instrument to show God's love in action by building and renovating houses for families in need. A doubting and sinful world can see that we in the church can agree on something and that God's love is manifest in our work. Every house Habitat builds is a *sermon* about God's love."[616] Fuller does not address the inconsistency in claiming the tool used to crucify Jesus is a "simple instrument to show God's love in action."[617] Perhaps, however, this interpretation is born of a belief that the crucifixion in its horrific entirety is symbolic of God's love for the world – so the tools by which the crucifixion was carried out symbolise God's love in action. Certainly the act of building a Habitat home is viewed by Fuller as Christians uniting to demonstrate God's love in action. The theology of the hammer does not go far beyond this point – it is a theology of action, rather than reflection.

Despite Baggett and Fuller's shared confidence in the unifying force of a theology based in concrete action, Baggett does not shy away from the challenge inclusivity creates in sparking tensions between Habitat's religious identity and the need to welcome the stranger in a way that does not alienate.[618] Baggett successfully argues that there is a defined niche within which para-denominational organisations play a significant role in society. He says that the theology of the hammer, which drives

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[614] Millard Fuller, *The Theology of the Hammer.* Smyth and Helwys, Macon, G.A., 1994, 79.
[615] Jerome P. Baggett, *Habitat for Humanity: Building private homes, building public religion.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2001, 21.
[616] Millard Fuller, *The Theology of the Hammer.* Smyth and Helwys, Macon, G.A., 1994, 79.
[617] Ibid.
[618] Jerome P. Baggett, *Habitat for Humanity: Building private homes, building public religion.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2001, 220.

Habitat's operations, provides a unifying belief that everyone involved in the organisation can understand and to which all can subscribe. But he is honest about the tensions that result from living out this theology in a way that Fuller is unable to be. The active simplicity of the theology of the hammer has attracted thousands of Christians to participate in Habitat's work. It underpins a focused organisational identity. But the energy required to remain constantly poised between the secular world and the teachings of the church take their toll despite this inclusive, unifying theology and the determination to overcome differences through action.

2.5. CONCLUSION

In studying faith-based (or "para-denominational") organisations, and how they are distinct from other organisations carrying out similar work, tension emerges as a central characteristic. Faith-based organisations draw together some of the great irreconcilables of post-enlightenment society: occupying a space between the fully religious and the fully secular, influenced by both church and the secular, they are determined to remain inclusive in the tradition of Jesus' teaching while remaining true to a faith identity. These many dichotomies and influences forge the unique nature of faith-based organisations – whether an organisation with a single denominational orientation, such as the Salvation Army, or an overtly ecumenical operation, such as Habitat for Humanity. Both organisations receive institutional funding, exposing them to government and other secular influences; both seek to hold action and reflection in tension, seeing their work as a manifestation of the spiritual but aware that the spiritual can become lost in the imperatives of day-to-day action. The theology underpinning both organisations is concerned with reconciling this tension between reflection and action, but with very different emphasis and outcome in each case. Pallant concludes that, for the Salvation Army, the way forward is through reflection. Attention to *telos,* to core purpose, means actions must be constantly scrutinised to ensure they meet the theological imperative of the organisation. Pallant suggests that attention to *telos* through reflection can help the organisation negotiate the secular demands of institutional funders and the need to be inclusive. Baggett and Fuller, by contrast, conclude that action in itself fulfills Habitat for Humanity's core purpose, reconciling the tensions created by commitment to both church and secular. The core purpose of a single-issue organisation such as Habitat is perhaps easier to discern than that of the Salvation Army, which works across a diversity of issues. Nevertheless, Baggett and Fuller's conclusion that action is the reconciler of these tensions begs the question

of whether Habitat holds a theological purpose beyond or transcending action. If not, this approach could potentially see the organisation's social action eclipse its spiritual nature, a danger of which the Salvation Army is well aware. Pallant does not denigrate action, but emphasises that it must be a result of reflection. With reflection guiding action, the organisation can progress to fulfill its theological imperative, rather than the progression being the imperative in itself and the theological force being lost in the process.

These two examples demonstrate clearly that faith-based organisations struggle to exist 'in the world, but not of the world.' It is difficult to be faithful to both transcendent teachings and earthly obligations. From this brief comparative analysis, it is possible to conclude that both action and reflection can and should contribute to the formation of a unified theology, guiding faith-based organisations as they walk the tightrope between church and secular influence. The challenge remains, however, as to whether reflection should guide action, as Pallant concludes, or whether action should transcend reflection as a spiritual pursuit in itself, as Baggett and Fuller suggest.

Pursuit of action without adequate reflection can result in a loss of faith understanding and theological imperative. This suggests that reflection must set the path for action, and action can then bring the unity of purpose and vision required to successfully meet the organisation's core purpose.

3. A Christology of Development for a Prophetic Future

3.1. Introduction

Drawing on the lessons gleaned from the examination of two comparable faith-based organisations in Section 2, this section proposes a theological path with the potential to unify Christian Aid's dissonant theological voices (explicit, implicit and null). This path will see reflection guide the praxis of development in the day-to-day life of the organisation. The renewed theology of development proposed in this chapter draws on the contributions of research participants presented in Chapter Two. The wisdom of practice in these contributions offer a proper challenge[619] to Christian Aid's explicit discourse. By consistently emphasising the importance of partnership, rather than relational theology, and reflecting on the earthly rather

[619] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 56.

than the divine Jesus, the interview data presented and analysed in Chapter Two provides the basis for the renewed theology of development laid out in this chapter. Participants challenged Christian Aid's explicit theology in two ways: questioning the normative frame of scripture it uses to interpret Christology and partnership; and ignoring its attempt to fulfill a normative role in the absence of shared Protestant teaching on development. To address these challenges the renewed theology of international development being proposed for Christian Aid will be based on Christology from below, alongside the Christology from above already embedded within Christian Aid's explicit theology.

It is interesting to note that both the Salvation Army and Habitat for Humanity manifest in their discourse, reflection and praxis a focus on Christology from below.[620] This is not to say these organisations view the divinity of Jesus as irrelevant; rather, that Christ's humanity is considered of greatest relevance to their work. It could be instructive to Christian Aid that comparable organisations have found "the humanity of the historical Jesus" more enlightening in reflecting on their work than "assertions of divinity attributed to the Christ of faith."[621] Similar views expressed by interviewees (examined in some detail in Section 6.5 of Chapter Two) must be attended to if a theology that speaks to Christian Aid's development work is to be successfully constructed, owned, and used by those associated with the organisation. The contributions of interviewees are not considered normative in this process; but it is important to note that the suggestions they make to resolve theological tensions correlate both with aspects of the approaches taken by the Salvation Army and Habitat for Humanity, and, as Section 3.2 of this chapter will explore in greater detail, correlate with significant 20th century theological discourse originating within the academy. In constructing a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid based on a Christology from below, this chapter will draw on the works of a number of those who contributed to this academic discourse. In particular, it will examine the works of Edward Schillebeeckx – one of the most prominent proponents of Christology from below of the 20th century – and those who have offered recent interpretations and extensions of his work.

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[620] Jerome P. Baggett, *Habitat for Humanity: Building private homes, building public religion.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2001, 219; Phil Needham, *Community in Mission: A salvationist ecclesiology.* The Campfield Press, St Albans, 1987, 53-4.
[621] Ibid, Jerome P. Baggett.

Schillebeeckx's work is of particular relevance to this study because it is "a source of inspiration for people who want to stand up for the poor and the oppressed and who want to change the world for the good."[622] Such inspiration does not so obviously spring from the works of Karl Barth, upon whose ideas Christian Aid's explicit theology is based. Providing a somewhat more radical and recent perspective on Christology from below, which underscores the reading of the historical Jesus' life and acts as inspirational to those wishing to change the world for the better, are the works of Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan. These sources provide the radical, prophetic interpretation of scripture that one-third of interviewees[623] suggest is essential if Christian Aid is to fully reclaim the faith identity it once manifest through challenging reflection and action. Borg and Crossan's interpretation of Jesus' journey to the cross challenges the explicit theology's interpretation of this event, echoing three research participants[624] who raised the question of what the crucifixion means to Christian Aid. This lack of clarity was identified as a lacuna affecting Christian Aid's ability to be prophetic in calling the churches to act in response to transformation through the cross. By drawing on the Christologies of Schillebeeckx, Borg and Crossan, a theology that responds to the challenges issued by research participants to the explicit theology's reading of scripture will emerge. It will offer a re-interpretation that reconciles the various dissonances identified and offers a more prophetic way forward for the organisation.

A common theme among Christologies from below (including those of Schillebeeckx, Borg and Crossan) is a focus upon the synoptic gospels, rather than the gospel of John. While the synoptic gospels receive some attention in Christian Aid's explicit theology, it is a more significant focus on John's gospel which, in part, gives the explicit theology its transcendent focus. This section will examine Mark's gospel, the earliest and arguably the most straightforward account of Jesus'

[622] Lieven Boeve and Ben Vedder, 'In Memorium Edward Schillebeeckx, OP (1914 – 2009).' *Edward Schillebeeckx and Contemporary Theology.* Lieven Boeve, Frederiek Depoortere and Stephan Van Erp (eds.), T&T Clark, London and New York, 2010, xi.
[623] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:26:09 – 0:27:20; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:12:57 – 0:13:59; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:20:31 – 0:20:57; Interview 18, November 20, 2012, 0:13:42 – 0:14:07; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:12 – 0:37:31; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:02:18 – 0:03:14; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:24 – 0:22:51; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:49 – 0:04:19.
[624] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:27:05 – 0:27:33; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 1:04:13 – 1:06:52; Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:33:04 – 0:35:12.

ministry on earth,[625] to reflect on Jesus' teaching and its relevance to Christian Aid's current context. As with the Salvation Army and Habitat for Humanity, the biblical reflection on Jesus' earthly ministry is not designed to displace the reflection on Jesus' transcendent role in Christian Aid's explicit theology. Rather, responding to calls from interviewees for more "earthed" and "grounded"[626] theological reflection, the renewed theology of development for Christian Aid proposed in this chapter draws on the gospel of Mark. In Mark, Jesus can be understood not only as the Charismatic Faith Healer[627] portrayed in the organisation's explicit theology, but as the Social Reformer[628] and the Champion of the Poor[629] consistently referred to by interviewees in their understanding of who Jesus is to Christian Aid.[630] Rowan Williams has noted that, in comparing the gospel of Mark with that of John, the former enables us to "see events strictly from the perspective of the victim. When the victims of totalitarian violence and tyranny in our own age tell their stories, as many have, they sound very much like [the Passion of Jesus as related by Mark]. Victims typically don't really know what's happening; no one explains, no one justifies what is going on, and they only know everything is stacked against them and that they have no hope of getting out of this nightmare alive."[631] By contrast, the Jesus of John's gospel engages in eloquent debate with his persecutors. In

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[625]John Proctor, *Mark's Jesus: The message and meaning of Mark's gospel.* Grove, Cambridge, 2005, 3; Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, ix; Rowan Williams, *Meeting God in Mark.* SPCK, London, 2014, 19-20.

[626] Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:03:44 – 0:04:12.

[627] "A charismatic figure with visionary, mystical experiences of God who functioned as channel of God's power to others." Andreas J. Kostenberger, L. Scott Kellum and Charles R. Quarles, *The Cradle, the Cross and the Crown: An introduction to the New Testament.* B&H Academic, Nashville, 2009, 124.

[628] Ibid. An "itinerant preacher who renounced possessions, family ties, and violent revolts, calling for a return to egalitarianism and renouncing social class systems." Amy-Jill Levine has, alternatively, characterised the Social Reformer Jesus as one who "seeks to inaugurate the economic justice envisioned by the Prophets and the year of Jubilee (Leviticus 25:8-55) by teaching his followers to pray, 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive those who are indebted to us' (Matthew 6:12) and insisting, 'Give when you are asked' (Matthew 5:42)." Amy-Jill Levine, 'Introduction.' *The Historical Jesus in Context.* Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C. Allison Jr. and John Dominic Crossan (eds.), Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2006, 13. N.T. Wright has offered another, differing, view on the Social Reformer Jesus, placing this interpretation explicitly within a very particular historical and eschatological context. "Call Jesus a 'social prophet' if you will; but his social prophecy grew directly out of his sense of what time it was. His critique of, and warning to, his contemporaries, and his challenge to a different way of being Israel, were based on his firm belief that he was charged by Israel's God with inaugurating the kingdom." N.T. Wright, 'The Mission and Message of Jesus.' Marcus J. Borg and N.T. Wright, *The Meaning of Jesus: Two visions.* SPCK, London, 1999, 39.

[629] Amy-Jill Levine, 'Introduction.' *The Historical Jesus in Context.* Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C. Allison Jr. and John Dominic Crossan (eds.), Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2006, 11.

[630] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:05:21 – 0:05:26; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:28:34 – 0:28:54; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:09 – 0:10:55; Interview 7, September 7, 2012, 0:13:01 – 0:13:40 and 0:16:12 – 0:16:24; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-record notes; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:14:31 – 0:14:49 and 0:15:03 – 0:15:34; Interview 26, February 26, 2013 0:17:14 – 0:17:27 and 0:37:26 – 0:37:47; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:02:30 – 0:02:37; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:40 – 0:22:07; Interview 30, June 6, 2013, 0:04:02 – 0:04:16 and 0:13:34 – 0:13:42 and 0:28:04 – 0:28:47.

[631] Rowan Williams, *Meeting God in Mark.* SPCK, London, 2014, 57.

constructing a theology which can encourage and inform reflection upon the situation of the most vulnerable and marginalised people in the world, Williams' observations suggest that the gospel of Mark has much to teach us. Even in this context, though, the divine Jesus of the explicit theology is vital to a full understanding of a Christology underpinning Christian Aid's work. But this divine Jesus must sit alongside the human, historical Jesus who was subject to isolation and arbitrary power[632] in the final week of his life. It is in this way that a renewed theology of development could speak to the situation of those living in poverty and with a sense of such powerlessness.

This section will first examine what exactly is meant by a Christology from below. Drawing on the thinkers already noted and the contributions of research participants, it will explore how such a Christology compares and contrasts with the Christology from above embedded in the organisation's explicit theology. It will expand and explore the earthly interpretation of Jesus' acts by interviewees to see how a more radical response to Jesus in Christian Aid's discourse and praxis could enrich the life and work of the organisation. Reflection upon the earthly acts of Jesus has been identified as a null theology within Christian Aid's discourse. Five interviewees claimed that the suppression of this aspect of Christian Aid's identity is a betrayal of the organisation's mandate to challenge unjust power in solidarity with the world's poorest communities.[633] Interviewees expressed concern that Christian Aid is now too careful, and too scared of alienating dominant power structures with which it is too closely aligned to effectively challenge them in the way that Jesus did. By developing a renewed theology of development this chapter will demonstrate how a return to the teachings of Jesus, and an interpretation of these 'from below' can shed light on a path forward for Christian Aid through these tensions and debates.

3.2. CHRISTOLOGY 'FROM ABOVE' AND 'FROM BELOW'

The relational theology expounded in Christian Aid's explicit theology focuses primarily on God's relationship with humans, and Jesus as the mediator of this relationship. According to the explicit theology, relationship with God informs our relationship with each other, and it is Jesus' divinity that enables him to bring us

[632] Ibid, 58.
[633] Interview 1, August 21, 2012 0:05:21 – 0:06:59; Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:28:15 – 0:28:54; Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 0:10:07 – 0:10:55; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:21:14 – 0:21:38.

into such association with God. "From creation, there has been a special relationship between God and humans; and this relational aspect of God (shown in his covenant relationship with people in the Old Testament, and in a new relationship through Jesus Christ in the New Testament) in turn determines *how we behave to one another.* As people in relationship with God, we are called into similar relationship with one another."[634] The explicit theology emphasises John's gospel, rather than the synoptic gospels, in drawing out the nature of the relationship between humans and God, and Jesus' role as mediator in this.[635] Jesus' healing miracles – which are a significant focus in the 2010 *Theology and International Development* report – are interpreted as evidence of Christ's divinity being brought to bear on earth. Although the miracles are interpreted in the explicit theology as instances of Jesus restoring outcasts (lepers, widows) to their communities, these are not seen as metaphorical interpretations of Jesus' ability to restore relationships, but as literal evidence of his divine power to do so.[636] Rowan Williams has interpreted Mark's accounts of Jesus' healing miracles as evidence of his overwhelming compassion – he performs miracles because he is compelled to do so when he sees people in distress, but refuses to allow those who witness his miracles to speak of them. He does not want to be seen as another charismatic healer (of which there were many during his time), but wishes to challenge the disciples and others to instead "recognise what is unique in his mission."[637] His miracles are evidence of both his divine power and his love for humanity; but these need to be interpreted as being a part of his broader social message concerned with "alter[ing] the shape of what [i]s possible for you and me."[638] Williams' interpretation of the role of Jesus' miracles correlates in some ways with questions and challenges which were raised by research participants regarding the role in which Jesus is cast in Christian Aid's explicit theology. One-third of interviewees spoke of the life and teaching of the historical Jesus as inspiring their work with and for Christian Aid,[639] and the reflection that guides this work. However, only two interviewees spoke specifically of the Christological underpinnings of Christian Aid's explicit discourse, in particular the Christological interpretation within the

[634] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 12.
[635] Ibid, 11.
[636] Ibid, 27.
[637] Rowan Williams, *Meeting God in Mark.* SPCK, London, 2014, 35.
[638] Ibid, 8.
[639] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:26:09 – 0:27:20; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:12:57 – 0:13:59; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:20:31 – 0:20:57; Interview 18, November 20, 2012, 0:13:42 – 0:14:07; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:12 – 0:37:31; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:02:18 – 0:03:14; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:24 – 0:22:51; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:49 – 0:04:19.

explicit theology. These contributions came from two of the most theologically-literate staff members interviewed, who have both had cause to consider the implications of Christian Aid's explicit interpretation of scripture in and through their daily work. The first questioned Christian Aid's Christology by asking "how Christo-centric are we? Are we comfortable talking about God and the Lord but not about Jesus? Because that's going to alienate."[640] This suggests that Christian Aid's explicit theology has shied away from drawing on Jesus' humanity and challenges to earthly power, because of a perception that this would alienate non-Christians, or those on the fringes of Christian belief, who are comfortable with inclusive messages focusing on God, but not with those more specifically Christian messages focusing on Jesus. The second interviewee to speak in depth about Christian Aid's formal interpretation of scripture was more directly critical in making the same observation that it isn't possible to construct a truly Christo-centric theological framework from a position hamstrung by the need to be inclusive. "I feel like we pick and choose from the faith. We're happy with the justice messages. We're happy with the respect messages and the inclusion messages but… it's not a Christologically sound theology I would say."[641] The opinion of this critical outlier is important, both because of the seniority, experience and theological literacy of the staff member who offered it; and the resonance between this critique and the view of one-third of interviewees,[642] who felt that the humanity of Jesus – his earthly acts and challenges to power – were of greater relevance to their work than the interpretation of Jesus' role found in the explicit theology. It is through attention to these contributions that Christology from below has been identified as a null theology in Christian Aid's discourse. It is a lacuna with the potential – if embraced – to reconcile the significant theological dissonance between the organisation's explicit and implicit discourses. The interviewee who openly criticised the Christology of Christian Aid's explicit theology did this out of sympathy with those who have been unable to use this interpretation of Jesus' role to meaningfully reflect on their work.

[640] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:15:34 – 0:15:57.
[641] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:32:34 – 0:32:48.
[642] Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 0:26:09 – 0:27:20; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:12:57 – 0:13:59; Interview 11, October 31, 2012, pre-recording notes; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:20:31 – 0:20:57; Interview 18, November 20, 2012, 0:13:42 – 0:14:07; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:37:12 – 0:37:31; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:02:18 – 0:03:14; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:21:24 – 0:22:51; Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 0:03:49 – 0:04:19.

However, in justifying the construction of a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid as a Christology from below, it is important to note that this is not an attempt to marginalise the divinity of Christ. This renewed theology seeks to redress an imbalance, rather than to dismiss the interpretation of Christ as divine, and to be attentive to both the divinity and the humanity of Christ, neither conflating these nor privileging one over the other.[643] The divine aspects of Christ must remain a part of Christian Aid's theological discourse, but as in the manner of other Christian development organisations such as Habitat for Humanity and the Salvation Army, and in the ways suggested by research participants, the disparity in the explicit discourse – in which the divine Christ is emphasised to the detriment of the human – must be rectified. A Christology from below speaks more readily to Christian Aid staff for whom theology is not a core part of their work. It makes clear the correlation between the historic acts of Jesus that challenged the injustices of his day, and the work of Christian Aid that challenges the injustices of the present day. Reflecting on Jesus as the broker of humanity's right relationship with God can give us a model for human relations teaching us how to treat our neighbour with love, dignity and respect. Such reflection drawn from the explicit theology should not be dismissed. But it is reflection upon Jesus' earthly acts, such as his overturning of the tables in the temple, which will guide those associated with Christian Aid in how best to challenge unjust power in our world today. This is the true value of a Christology from below, which is currently not being brought to bear on Christian Aid's work.

The balance sought between the divine and the human Christ in a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid reflects a common resistance to categorising Christological works as being either 'from above' or 'from below'[644] – each is generally considered to be a starting point, from which the other is then embraced.[645] Edward Schillebeeckx is thought to have constructed a Christology

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[643] "The gap between divine and human is not closed here by making the two similar to one another, but by joining the two very different things – humanity and divinity, which remain very different things – into one in Christ via the incarnation." Kathryn Tanner, *Christ the Key.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, 235.

[644] Wesley J. Wildman, 'Basic Christological Distinctions.' *Theology Today,* 64, 2007, 294.

[645] The lack of nuance inherent in the terms 'above' and 'below' in relation to Christological works has led to the terms 'ascending' and 'descending' being used frequently to emphasis that 'above' and 'below' are starting points. (Ibid, 286-7.) Christologies which begin 'below', with the human Christ, almost inevitably progress to draw in aspects of divinity and thereby 'ascend', in the manner of Schillebeeckx's work; and those Christologies which begin with the divine will frequently move to an application of the divine to the human embodiment of Jesus, thereby 'descending.' While acknowledging the breadth of terms which have been used to characterise focus upon the divine and

from below in his *Jesus: An experiment in Christology.*[646] However, this work does not marginalise the divinity of Christ, despite Schillebeeckx's focus on historical context. His intention was to make all aspects of Jesus – his life and his transcendent nature – accessible and relevant, and a living force in people's faith and praxis.[647] In doing so, Schillebeeckx has been credited with unlocking "the experience dimension with respect to God", which "serves as the ontological basis for making God's offer of salvation in Jesus Christ comprehensible for men and women today. At the same time, it motivates Christian engagement in support of a better society on theological grounds."[648] Schillebeeckx's prioritisation of praxis alongside doctrine in his Christology is possible and successful because he saw the route to an understanding of the divine Christ through the historical figure. "In the light of Jesus Christ, the gospel itself is a hermeneutic of fundamental human experience. What speaks to us in Jesus is his being human, and thereby opening up to us the deepest possibilities of our own life, and *in this* God is expressed."[649] Schillebeeckx explores Jesus' divinity through his humanity by examining gospel accounts of Jesus eating with sinners, when he opened up communication between the sinners and God.[650] There is clear resonance between this aspect of Jesus' ministry and the claim in Christian Aid's explicit theology that Jesus' primary role is to broker relationship between God and human. However, Schillebeeckx delves deeply into the detail and significance of the earthly act to reach a conclusion about Jesus' divinity; whereas Christian Aid's explicit theology pays little heed to the earthly act which brings about relationship with the divine. Schillebeeckx's exegetical focus on the earthly as a means to understand the divine is what still appeals to those wishing to fuel earthly acts in pursuit of equality and justice, through reflection upon the divine. Schillebeeckx's Christology may be seen as drawn 'from below', but it includes significant aspects of transcendence. This makes it a Christology poised between these two positions, demonstrating that they are not dichotomous but equal parts of a cohesive vision of Christ.

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the human Christ, this study will use the designations 'above' and 'below', acknowledging that each holds aspects of the other and that neither term is exclusive in its focus.

[646] "The Christology of Edward Schillebeeckx may be the clearest contemporary example of a Christology from below, because his doctrine of Christ emerges from a comprehensive and detailed critical analysis of the biblical witness concerning Jesus of Nazareth." Ibid, 287.

[647] Benedict T. Viviano, 'Schillebeeckx's Jesus and Christ – Contributions to Christian life.' *Spirituality Today,* 34:2, 1982, 131.

[648] Lieven Boeve, 'The Enduring Significance and Relevance of Edward Schillebeeckx? Introducing the State of the Question in Medias Res.' *Edward Schillebeeckx and Contemporary Theology.* Lieven Boeve, Frederiek Depoortere and Stephan Van Erp (eds.), T&T Clark, London and New York, 2010, 13.

[649] Edward Schillebeeckx, *Christ: The experience of Jesus as Lord.* John Bowden (trans.), Crossroad, New York, 1981, 31.

[650] Edward Schillebeeckx, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology.* Hubert Hoskins (trans.), Collins, London, 1979, 206-210.

In his overview of 20th century Christological thought, Wesley J. Wildman claims that the majority of modern Christologies begin from below, and that Christologies from above have become relatively rare.[651] This is a shift away from the classical theological position of working from the transcendent to the historical.[652] One significant exception to the shift towards immanence is the work of Karl Barth, "in which the theme of Incarnation of the Word of God is richly and dramatically unfolded."[653] Unlike many other Christologies from above, Barth's work begins with belief rather than a philosophical presupposition. This leads Colin Gunton to differentiate Barth's Christology from others that approach the role of Jesus from above.[654] Gunton's classification acknowledges that, although Barth focuses upon the revelation of faith from above, such revelation occurs immanently and we are able to understand it through a historical lens.[655]

Christian Aid's explicit theology, constructed using the framework of Barth's relational theology, inhabits a very different space to the implicit theologies guiding those working with and for the organisation. Barth's Christology from above heavily influences the former, whereas interviewees consistently represented the latter as a Christology from below. Other tensions between the implicit and the explicit theologies of Christian Aid have been identified and explored in Chapter Two, but the difference in Christological interpretation between the two theologies lies at the heart of all the other differences associated with partnership and inclusivity.

By constructing a Christology from below as the basis for Christian Aid's renewed theology of development, this chapter attempts to draw together a theology that is "Christologically sound."[656] It is a theology that will balance the existing interpretation of Christ's divinity, found within the organisation's explicit theology, with an exploration of his humanity. The latter has the potential to shed light on Christian Aid's work in a way that the former does not, inspiring praxis that challenges unjust power in the manner of the historical Jesus. The null theology of Christology from below, exposed and interpreted as such through the data

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651 Wesley J. Wildman, 'Basic Christological Distinctions.' *Theology Today,* 64, 2007, 288.
652 Colin Gunton, *Yesterday and Today: A study of continuities in Christology.* London, SPCK, 1997, 11.
653 Wesley J. Wildman, 'Basic Christological Distinctions.' *Theology Today,* Vol. 64, 2007, 288.
654 Colin Gunton, *The Barth Lectures.* T&T Clark, London and New York, 2007, 192.
655 Ibid, 197.
656 Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:32:34 – 0:32:48.

gathered in the course of this research, challenges the interpretation of scripture found in Christian Aid's explicit theology. Drawing the lacuna of Christology from below into the open and embracing this challenge has the potential to bring balance to Christian Aid's interpretation of scripture and to shed light on the organisation's efforts to challenge unjust power. It could also help to re-form Christian Aid as a theologically coherent organisation, resolving the theological dissonance so apparent in the presentation and analysis of data undertaken in Chapter Two.

3.3. Crucifixion and Resurrection 'from Above' and 'from Below'

Like many aspects of Jesus' life on earth, Christian Aid's explicit theology sees Christ's crucifixion in terms of his mediation between divine and human. It is "the point at which, paradoxically, God himself experiences that separation from God that marks the depth of human suffering."[657] There is no reference to the context in which Jesus was crucified, or to the political ramifications of an act carried out by the imperial Roman rulers of first-century Palestine. According to the Christology from above of Christian Aid's explicit theology, Jesus is crucified so that God can experience the pain of the human, and humans can be brought into closer proximity with God's love. While this interpretation is perfectly valid, it does not delve deeply enough into Jesus' human existence and his struggles against those who sought to suppress his message, in order to shed light on Christian Aid's attempts to live out God's kingdom on earth. In their exploration of Jesus' journey to the cross and the steps he took in his final week on earth to challenge the domination system of his day, Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan issue a warning to those who would seek to interpret the crucifixion purely in light of humanity's transcendent relationship with God. "Like those first disciples [who deserted Jesus in his final days and hours], we would like to avoid the implications of this journey with Jesus. We would like its Holy Week conclusions to be about the interior rather than the exterior life, about heaven rather than earth, about the future rather than the present, and, above all else, about religion safely and securely quarantined from politics. Confronting violent political power *and* unjust religious collaboration is dangerous in most times and most places, first century and twenty-first century alike."[658] In light of Borg and Crossan's interpretation, Christian Aid's understanding of the crucifixion can be seen as an attempt to avoid

[657] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 21.
[658] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 91.

reflecting on the more difficult earthly aspects of Jesus' death. These are concerned both with the challenge he posed to institutional power within the context of the crucifixion, and the call issued to Christians to follow the sacrificial journey to the cross. Both Jesus' life and the manner of his death offer us a model through which Christian Aid's work – confronting violent political power, unjust domination systems, and the apathy of those willing to tolerate current systems of global power despite the impact on the poorest and most vulnerable – could be driven by a radical and challenging theology. In focusing on the crucifixion as a means by which the transcendent and the earthly are brought into closer relationship, Christian Aid's explicit theology makes some valid points. However, in ignoring the social and political aspects of this event, the explicit theology arguably falls into a trap highlighted by Richard Horsley: the anachronistic application of the modern separation of church and state to the life and times of Jesus.[659]

The crucifixion and resurrection as related in the gospel of Mark are events not only concerned with religion, "but with politics and economics as inseparable from religion. [Mark's gospel] portrays a cast of characters in ominous power-relations."[660] These power relations are not examined or even alluded to in Christian Aid's explicit theology. Horsley claims that Mark's gospel is "about and addressed to the ancient equivalent of 'third-world' peoples subjected by empire."[661] As such, this gospel must be heard "as a story about subjected people, perhaps even giving voice to such people."[662] Horsley's political and economic reading of Mark's account of the crucifixion and resurrection, which correlates with that of Borg and Crossan, suggests that it is not enough for Christian Aid's explicit theology to call on those associated with the organisation to lead lives modeled on Jesus' love, inclusivity and acts of "good news for the poor [which are] examples that the relational theology described in this paper demands that Christians follow as best they can."[663] In essence, Christian Aid's explicit theology advocates compassion and love – which are, of course, vital to the organisation's identity and work. But it does not draw on the crucifixion to advocate action that challenges the social and political order, so that the kingdom of God can be brought about in our present context on earth. It is this challenge to unjust power that interviewees

[659] Richard A. Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story: The politics of plot in Mark's gospel.* Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, London and Leiden, 2001, x-xiii.
[660] Ibid, x.
[661] Ibid, xii-xiii.
[662] Ibid.
[663] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 29.

want to recapture as part of Christian Aid's prophetic voice. This desire is, in itself, a challenge to the interpretation of scripture found in the organisation's explicit theology.

It is instructive to compare the insights of interviewees with the interpretation of the crucifixion found within the explicit theology. The former offers a significant challenge to the latter, much like the scriptural interpretations of Borg, Crossan and Horsley. One staff member asked exactly what role the crucifixion plays in Christian Aid's organisational discourse, expressing frustration that the interpretation offered in the explicit theology is not one that can be brought to bear in a more intentional way on Christian Aid's praxis. "Where is our understanding of [Christ's] death and resurrection? [Where is our understanding of] the dying and the rising… the transformation that comes through self-giving?"[664] This interviewee advocated a journey with Jesus to the cross not dissimilar to that outlined by Borg and Crossan – a journey in which we feel the full implications of Jesus' death, both for this world and for the next. Through it we can develop our understanding of how to bring the kingdom of heaven to earth. David E. Ford has claimed that: "The Kingdom of God is full of potentiality for surprise and reversal… but the ultimate surprise comes in the resurrection of Jesus."[665] The crucifixion and resurrection are crucial to our understanding of how and why the heavenly kingdom must be lived out on earth. Interviewees sought to reflect on the crucifixion as a means of understanding our current context as the *present* kingdom, but were frustrated by the lack of such reflection in Christian Aid's explicit theology.[666] Crucified by an imperial power, Jesus not only died to bring God and humanity into closer relationship, but to show how sacrificial love can inform and inspire social and political shifts against systems of entrenched injustice.[667] He died because of his declaration that the kingdom of God was coming for the poor and the hungry – a kingdom in which they would no longer be subjugated by a foreign power.[668] In bequeathing his earthly ministry to his disciples,[669] Jesus demanded that his mission and message on earth should continue and that the heavenly kingdom be

[664] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:31:04 – 0:32:57.
[665] David E. Ford, *Christian Wisdom: Desiring God and learning in love.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 49.
[666] Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 0:00:01 – 0:00:33.
[667] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 147.
[668] Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus in Context: Power, people and performance.* Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2008, 9.
[669] Mark 6:7-13.

made present not only through his divine presence, but by his followers on earth in the tradition of his teaching. The Twelve therefore shared in the mission of Jesus, doing what – in the past – only Jesus himself had done.[670] It is in this tradition of self-sacrificial service in the journey to the cross and in the pursuit of the present kingdom on earth that the interviewees quoted have positioned themselves, but in doing so they receive little support or instruction from Christian Aid's explicit theology.

Christian Aid must be attentive to the manner of Jesus' death and the motivations of the Roman rulers who condemned him to it – Jesus being perceived as a serious threat to their authority – if the organisation is to arrive at a full understanding of its role in bringing the heavenly kingdom to earth. "The structures of secular and religious power that colluded in [Jesus'] rejection, torture and death were both political and patriarchal. Not only Jesus' teaching, but his practices of healing on the Sabbath, eating with sinners and outcasts, and his egalitarian relationships with women, posed a threat to those defined by male religious authority and/or political power."[671] Crucifixion was a fate reserved by the Roman leadership not for petty criminals, but for those who posed a serious threat to the authority of its occupying force. In making an example of such people, it was hoped others would be dissuaded from following a similar path.[672] That Jesus experienced a horrific death at the hands of a ruling regime demonstrates that his divine power, brought to bear in the human realm, posed a threat to the occupying power. Ultimately, "when we look through the lens of the cross, human pretension to power and authority look very different. They look temporary and transient"[673] compared to Jesus' power, which has outlasted that of Roman imperial rule by more than one-and-a-half millennia.

Christian Aid's explicit theology acknowledges that it is through the experience of the crucifixion that we identify and empathise with the pain of others.[674] But this

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[670] Frances J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: A commentary.* Hendrickson, Massachusetts, 2002, 121.
[671] Kathleen McManus, 'Suffering, Resistance and Hope: Women's experience of negative contrast and Christology.' *Edward Schillebeeckx and Contemporary Theology.* Lieven Boeve, Frederiek Depoortere and Stephan Van Erp (eds.), T&T Clark, London and New York, 2010, 117-8.
[672] Graham Tomlin, *Looking Through the Cross: The Archbishop of Canterbury's Lent Book, 2014.* Bloomsbury, London, 2013, 19.
[673] Ibid, 72.
[674] "The principle of God's covenantal relationship with his people is seen in its full reality in the suffering of the crucified Jesus: 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' (Matthew 27:46). This is the point at which, paradoxically, God himself experiences that separation from God that marks the depth of human suffering. For Christians, therefore, the most immediate response to disasters,

concept is not explored fully, nor is it taken beyond the explicit theology into the broader organisational discourse of development. The transformation we experience by following Jesus to the cross is, as one interviewee pointed out,[675] not at the centre of Christian Aid's reflection on praxis, and does not inform its work in any substantive way. By reflecting on Jesus' call to follow him in taking up the cross[676] Christian Aid would not only expand its understanding of the crucifixion as a shared experience through which empathy can become manifest; but better integrate doctrine and praxis, allowing the experience of the crucifixion to guide the way in which those associated with Christian Aid carry out its work. It is the shared experience of the crucifixion that draws Christian Aid into relationship with church partners.

One of the criticisms of Christian Aid's development praxis is that this shared experience is often ignored, as the organisation does not work with local churches if they do not meet the monitoring and reporting standards it sets for funding.[677] A Christo-centric approach, sensitive to the shared experience of the crucifixion that unites Christian Aid with churches the world over, could guide Christian Aid into ways of working that do not exclude local churches from the development process, but include them in an appropriate way. One staff member suggested that this could involve Christian Aid working with mission agencies to build the capacity of local churches so they can access funding from Christian Aid in the future.[678] Local churches in some of the poorest communities in the world should not be excluded from Christian Aid funding because they believe in mission as the means to achieve development. Rather, Christian Aid needs to work with these churches to integrate mission and development, ensuring local church networks are part of a shared Christian endeavour, while maintaining performance standards for funding. By fully entering into the transformation that comes through the crucifixion, Christian Aid's focus could shift in both pragmatic and reflective ways: from the delivery of development projects in the most efficient manner possible to accompanying the church across the world to bring about an end to suffering. Jesus' sacrifice of his own life is positioned at the centre of our faith because it is the "ultimate act of self-

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whatever their scale, and to other causes of suffering in the developing world, has to be an initial impulse to share that pain." Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 21.

[675] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:31:04 – 0:32:57.

[676] Mark 8:34-37.

[677] Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:24:33 – 0:25:02.

[678] Ibid, 0:24:12 – 0:25:01.

sacrifice, self-sacrifice is the essence of love and God is love."[679] In coming to an understanding of what this love means for Christian Aid, the unifying force it brings to the worldwide church must not be ignored. It could inform Christian Aid's work with churches internationally to a much greater extent than it does in the current context.

Following the exploration of the crucifixion, the resurrection receives only glancing reference within Christian Aid's explicit theology, as "a promise of new life to come."[680] This lacuna is reflected in the contributions of interviewees, only one of whom referred to the need for the resurrection to become a more significant part of Christian Aid's discourse. One interviewee questioned how Christian Aid reflects on the transformation that comes through both the crucifixion and the resurrection.[681] This is one of the most significant Christological lacunae within both Christian Aid's explicit and implicit discourses. Both acknowledge the centrality of the crucifixion to Christian reflection and praxis, but ignore the resurrection almost completely. Together, the crucifixion and the resurrection open up the possibility of a new way of being human, of the hope that beyond suffering and pain there is salvation and redemption. "The new humanity that the cross and resurrection have brought into being is an invitation rather than a conclusion, a destination not an arrival."[682] This invitation to join with Jesus in overcoming earthly power through attention to the transcendent is absent from Christian Aid's theological discourse. It has, however, the potential to take a central place within both the organisation's discourse and praxis.

Making sense of human pain and suffering is one of the greatest difficulties in the spheres of development and theology. The experience of the crucifixion *and the resurrection* allow Christian development organisations to reflect on this pain and suffering in a unique way. Secular development agencies must seek hope in human potential to overcome poverty and suffering; whereas Christian development organisations can draw hope from the resurrection and Christ's defeat of earthly pain and power. The reluctance of Christian Aid to do so can perhaps be traced to the influence of the secular strategy, when the organisation avoided those elements

[679] Graham Tomlin, *Looking Through the Cross: The Archbishop of Canterbury's Lent Book, 2014.* Bloomsbury, London, 2013, 51.
[680] Christian Aid, *Theology and International Development.* A Christian Aid report, London, 2010, 30.
[681] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:31:04 – 0:32:57.
[682] Graham Tomlin, *Looking Through the Cross: The Archbishop of Canterbury's Lent Book, 2014.* Bloomsbury, London, 2013, 179.

of the Christian faith considered to be exclusive. By moving beyond this position to embrace the resurrection as a source of hope in the face of extreme suffering, Christian Aid would engage in what Edward Schillebeeckx understood as "negative contrast": the experience of articulating what salvation could be "in counterpoint to the very particular and concrete experience of suffering here and now."[683] For Schillebeeckx, suffering is transformative; human suffering should not be accepted as God's will, but should call out endurance, resistance and the hope of a better future. To acknowledge the significance of the crucifixion without reference to the resurrection is to deny the transformation the one entails in the other. Christian Aid must grasp the opportunity to see the transformative power within human suffering, and use it to inform its prophetic call to the churches to work together to overcome such suffering.

3.4. CHRISTOLOGY, POWER AND PROPHECY

In addressing the ways in which a Christology from below enables a power analysis of Christian Aid's response to poverty, it is helpful to revisit some of the thinking on this topic outlined in Chapter Two. Alasdair MacIntyre's assessment of relationships as consistently asymmetrical in terms of power[684] is of particular relevance to Christian Aid's explicit discourse, which claims the organisation works in equal, mutually beneficial partnership with those it funds to deliver development projects.[685] As with many other aspects of Christian Aid's explicit discourse, interviewees quoted in Section 4.2.4 of Chapter Two contested this view. They pointed out that while elements of Christian Aid's partnerships are positive and beneficial, there is an imbalance in power inherent in relationships in which one partner holds the funds, and the other needs them to survive.

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[683] Kathleen McManus, 'Suffering, Resistance and Hope: Women's experience of negative contrast and Christology.' *Edward Schillebeeckx and Contemporary Theology.* Lieven Boeve, Frederiek Depoortere and Stephan Van Erp (eds.), T&T Clark, London and New York, 2010, 121.

[684] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Dependent Rational Animals: Why human beings need the virtues.* Duckworth, London, 1999, 100.

[685] "Core Belief 2: Christian Aid believes that we are all without exception made in God's image, and that we see this image reflected in one another. We all have gifts and abilities to share with one another." Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 1. "A key strength… comes from trusting partnerships with churches and Christian organizations across five continents. Alone, one organization can achieve little. But as active partners in a global movement for change, we believe it is possible to end poverty in the 21st century." Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*. Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 5. "The true experts on poverty are those who fight it day by day… Since its inception, Christian Aid has learnt from the experience of hundreds of inspiring community organizations at the frontline of the battle against poverty… Lasting solutions are found only through… sharing experience as equals." Ibid, 6.

Discussion of power suffuses Christian Aid's explicit discourse, underscoring the organisation's role bringing power to the powerless.[686] But the power imbalance highlighted by interviewees – which correlates with MacIntyre's thinking – is not addressed. Instead, two particular aspects of power are explored within Christian Aid's explicit discourse: first, power as a force which dominates and controls the marginalised and disenfranchised; and second, power as "the energy that invigorates, restores, renews and makes it possible for the powerless to have a voice and to achieve great things even in the face of huge challenges."[687] In challenging the systems and structures that make and keep people poor, Christian Aid declares in its organisational strategy its willingness to "speak truth to power, even at the risk of losing popularity and funding."[688] Such willingness to speak truth to power, and the risks inherent in this action, could be interpreted as a mode of being prophetic. This declaration positions Christian Aid as an organisation that sees itself as called to be a prophetic voice both to the churches, and on behalf of the churches in challenging repositories of unjust power in our global context. The ability to be prophetic is a role which carries with it considerable power, as the discussion of Spinoza's understanding of prophecy in Section 4.2.1 of Chapter Two has already suggested. The unique powers of Moses and Jesus derive from their ability to discern, predict and act prophetically in response to the word of God.[689] In challenging power, through use of a prophetic voice to "speak truth,"[690] Christian Aid must reflect upon its own use of power. Claims to truth have been interpreted as bids for power;[691] so in speaking truth to power, Christian Aid could be seen as seeking to wield its own form of power. Reflection upon theological understandings of power, rather than adherence to the socio-political understanding currently manifest within Christian Aid's organisational discourse, could be helpful in this context. One such reflection was offered by the WCC in the

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[686] Ibid, 5.
[687] Robin Greenwood and Hugh Burgess, *Power: Changing society and the churches.* SPCK, London, 2005, 2.
[688] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*. Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 6.
[689] Benedict de Spinoza, *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza, Vol. 1 (Tractatus-Theologico-Politicus, Tractatus Politicus).* Robert Harvey Monroe Elwes (trans.), George Bell and Sons, London, 1891, 13.
[690] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*. Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, 6.
[691] "The postmodern critique of thinkers such as Jean-François Lyotard, Jacques Derrida and especially Michel Foucault contains the charge that all claims to truth, including the claims of theology, are merely secret bids for power. Christianity, it is claimed, dominated Western society for centuries not because it was more true, but because it was more powerful than its rivals." Graham Tomlin, 'Theology of the Cross: Subversive theology for a postmodern world?' *Theology Network,* http://www.theologynetwork.org/christian-beliefs/the-cross/theology-of-the-cross--subversive-theology-for-a.htm. Viewed February 17, 2015.

report of a 2004 consultation on power. "God's incarnation in Jesus Christ is a unique revelation of divine power in service of peace, non-violence, justice and love. In Jesus Christ, God declares that God's self does not only act on behalf of the poor and the oppressed, but decides to become one of them… Jesus' alternative to dominating power is the power of service."[692] The language of power is prominent within Christian Aid's discourse; the language of service is not. As Christian Aid seeks to be the prophetic voice of the churches, calling them to mobilise in challenging unjust power, a Christological interpretation of service, rather than power, would have the effect of empowering those Christian Aid seeks to serve in poor communities the world over; and would challenge Christian Aid's own position as a repository of considerable power.

Seven interviewees[693] brought a power analysis to their understanding of Christian Aid's work. One articulated the connection between Christian Aid's unwillingness to challenge power in a radical, Christo-centric manner, and the loss of the organisation's prophetic voice. "I think that's where the prophetic language comes in. It's lost its sense. It is difficult, because you're challenging power and you are part of that power structure. Increasingly… people who work for Christian Aid are part of that power structure and benefit from it. It takes somebody with real guts to stand up and say 'this is wrong.' We don't, we rationalise it all. I'm part of that as well. I feel very uncomfortable."[694] This insight has discomforting resonance with Mark 11:12-19 – verses that relate Jesus' furious destruction of the temple trading system in his anger at the complicity of religion with the dominant imperial power.[695] "What is involved for Jesus is an absolute criticism not only of violent

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[692] World Council of Churches, Commission on Faith and Order, "Interrogating and Redefining Power – A theological consultation." 10-13 December, 2004. http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/commissions/faith-and-order/x-other-documents-from-conferences-and-meetings/theological-reflection-on-peace/interrogating-and-redefining-power-a-theological-consultation. Viewed 17 February, 2015.

[693] Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 0:06:24 – 0:08:08; Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:14:41 – 0:16:18; Interview 12, November 7, 2013, 0:16:09 – 0:16:55; Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:19:34 – 0:20:07; Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:06:14 – 0:07:05; Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 0:07:09 – 0:07:21; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:28:30 – 0:31:12.

[694] Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:28:30 – 0:31:12.

[695] Questions have been raised repeatedly about the veracity of the 'temple incident' (see, for one example, Amy-Jill Levine, 'Introduction.' *The Historical Jesus in Context.* Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C. Allison Jr. and John Dominic Crossan (eds.), Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2006, 4-5), but the accepted interpretation of this passage for the purposes of this study is taken from Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 53. Also helpful in interpreting Jesus' attitude to the temple is N.T. Wright's 'The Mission and Message of Jesus' in Marcus J. Borg and N.T. Wright, *The Meaning of Jesus: Two visions.* SPCK, London, 1999, 44-5. "Many poorer people in Judaism regarded the temple as a symbol of corrupt and economically oppressive power structures; when the rebels took over the temple early on in the war, one of their first acts was to burn the records of debt kept there. Jesus'

domination, but of any religious collaboration with it… he stands *against* those forms of Christianity that were used throughout the centuries to support imperial violence and injustice."[696] Immediately after the incident in the temple, in Mark 11:15-17, Jesus teaches that the House of God, symbolised by the temple, does not belong to the political leaders of Israel as part of a corrupt system, but instead "shall be called a house of prayer for all nations."[697] The interviewee quoted above suggests that Christian Aid and its staff have become – to some degree – part of our own contemporary domination system, in the same way that the chief priests, elders and scribes of the temple collaborated with Rome in exploiting their own community.[698] This is an extremely difficult issue for Christian Aid to either acknowledge or address, particularly as an organisation that characterises itself as acting in solidarity with the poor and marginalised. Neither the explicit theology nor Christian Aid's formal organisational discourse offer any insight into Christian Aid's place within global power and domination systems. Nor do these discourses discuss Jesus' life, teaching and death on the cross in terms of unjust power and how Christian Aid can challenge it. But the comments of the seven interviewees who did discuss power, suggest they are seeking guidance on this issue – guidance as to how they can live and work in a way that embodies Jesus' radical challenges to unjust power, not just his inclusive example.

The implicit theologies at work at Christian Aid deploy nascent Christology from below to uncover and probe issues too difficult and too complex for the divinely oriented explicit theology, or Christian Aid's formal organisational discourse, to touch upon. Power is one such issue, which Christian Aid's formal discourse has so far failed to address.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter builds on and expands the implicit Christologies at work at Christian Aid to fill the Christological lacunae within the organisation's explicit theology. It shows how the explicit theology, by interpreting Jesus through his divinity rather than his humanity, greatly reduces the scope for reflecting on how Jesus' life and

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action in the temple has some relation to this larger picture of Jewish disquiet, though it transcends it."

[696] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 53.

[697] Mark 11:17.

[698] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 57.

work relates to the organisation's mission. The earthly acts of Jesus speak directly to what Christian Aid staff and supporters are trying to achieve: embracing the poor and the marginalised and, in so doing, challenging the unjust power structures that make and keep them poor. Interviewees pointed out that Christian Aid is too afraid of alienating repositories of institutional power with which it has become too closely aligned to be able to speak prophetically in challenging unjust power. A prophetic voice and prophetic acts are needed to bring about the kingdom of God on earth. It is not enough for Christian Aid to sit down and eat with sinners and those on the margins of society. The organisation must overturn the tables in the temple and refuse to accept a role within global systems of exploitation and unjust power that create and perpetuate poverty – poverty that Christian Aid has a stated mission to end. The theology required to inform such action is not just a Christology from above, which avoids the journey of transformation to the cross by focusing on the divine rather than the human. Rather, an understanding of Jesus' earthly works must complement this Christology from above. Such a Christology from below draws on the wisdom of the divine to determine how the kingdom of God can be brought to earth. This entails not just kindness and compassion, but righteous anger and furious refusal to watch injustice perpetrated and the kingdom of God betrayed.

An understanding of Jesus as social reformer and champion of the poor, alongside the conception of his divine purpose as Son of God, could inform how our journey with him to the cross, and the transformation experienced there, are to be lived out through the work of Christian Aid on earth today. Jesus dared to declare God more powerful than Caesar,[699] love more powerful than violent suppression, inclusion more powerful than exclusion – but these declarations form a significant lacuna in Christian Aid's explicit theological discourse. Paradoxically, it is by being attentive to the historical Jesus and his actions on earth that Christian Aid has the potential to become *less* earthly, to rise above the global power-structures with which the organisation is in some ways entwined, but must challenge in order to bring about equality. The divine Jesus of Christian Aid's explicit theology has a role to play in bringing to light the relationship of God and human; but it is the earthly Jesus who has the potential to teach Christian Aid how to challenge power and work for a more equitable world.

[699] "To say 'Jesus is Lord' meant 'Caesar is not Lord.' Imperial power crucified 'the Lord of glory' (1 Cor. 2:8), but God raised him and bestowed upon him the name that is above every name." Ibid, 208.

4. CHRIST AS EQUALITY: A THEOLOGY OF MUTUAL PARTNERSHIP

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Section 4.2.4 of Chapter Two identified two different concepts of partnership in the discourses at work within Christian Aid. The organisational discourse (laid out in official documents such as Christian Aid's strategy) presents partnership as equal, mutually enriching relationships between Christian Aid and churches in the UK and partners working in poor communities internationally. However, the implicit discourse, uncovered through the contributions of research participants, revealed another view of partnership. This discourse saw partnerships as asymmetric, with power held by Christian Aid in its relationships with partners, particularly the overseas partners it funds. This unspoken power imbalance forms a significant lacuna in in the formal organisational discourse and explicit theology. Through tentative and oblique references in the implicit discourse, power within partnership was identified as a null space in Christian Aid's theology and wider discourse.

There is also a fissure between the explicit discourse and the implicit discourse in the primacy each gives to the concept of 'partnership' and 'relationship.' The explicit theology draws on Karl Barth's ideas to build a conception of poverty eradication as the forging of 'right' relationships over 'wrong' relationships. The terms 'relationship' and 'partnership' are conflated within the explicit theology, without any acknowledgement of the difference between them. The former is conceptualised in the explicit theology as either positive or negative ('right' or 'wrong' relationships); whereas the latter is conceptualised in both the organisational and implicit discourses as being forged in a positive spirit between two parties with mutually held interests and values, to achieve a shared goal. This understanding of partnership, as opposed to relationship, is common to all those who referred to partnership as part of their implicit theology, whether asymmetry was raised as a part of this understanding or not.

Discussion in this section of a possible resolution to the issue of power-distorting partnerships will draw upon three key sources: the contributions of participants; scripture, which can shed light on how a Christology from below can inform a recalibration of Christian Aid's partnerships; and Catholic Social Teaching, in particular the ideas on the 'gift economy' found in *Caritas in Veritate.* The logic of

gift, rather than the logic of transaction, could allow Christian Aid to reshape its partnerships as more intentionally Christo-centric and thereby more equal. The exploration of the gift economy enables dialogue between the concepts of partnership and of mutuality – concepts Christian Aid's explicit organisational discourse refers to but does not explore. Rowan Williams has articulated the understanding that all have something to give and all have something to receive[700] within communal relations, challenging Christian Aid to consider what giving and receiving mean in partnership. Is Christian Aid always to be the gift-giver and the organisation's international partners the gift-receivers? Or are Christian Aid's claims of reciprocity – receiving knowledge, insight and reflection on praxis from international partners in return for funds – valid? The explicit theology does not shed significant light on these questions. By focusing upon relationship, rather than partnership, it generates ambiguity rather than clarity and does not draw Christological reflection (whether from above or below) into the discourse about Christian Aid's relationships with its partners. It was Jesus' acceptance of and love for all – particularly those excluded from society – which inspired the churches to establish Christian Aid and extend that same love to those left homeless and destitute following WWII. However, without an acute awareness of Jesus' radical acts of inclusion, acceptance and generosity, Christian Aid's partnerships have lost an awareness of the Christ-inspired equality on which the organisation was originally founded.

This section will close with a reflection on the pragmatic steps proposed throughout. Together, these steps could recapture elements of true equality in Christian Aid's partnerships, recalibrating these relationships to discover how living out Christ's word in bringing the present kingdom to earth could entail valuing both the givers and the receivers of gifts equally.

4.2. Partnership and Power

The overview of implicit and explicit understandings of partnership in Section 4.2.4 of Chapter Two referred to the following conception of partnership, drawn from Christian Aid's explicit organisational discourse: "Respect, empathy and love for all people are the root of our vision for a world without poverty. Seeking always to work co-operatively and conscious of our continuing need to learn from others, we

[700] Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust: An introduction to Christian belief.* Canterbury Press, Norwich, 2007, 106-7.

join with all those who struggle against poverty, powerlessness and injustice."[701] This is a highly aspirational statement, couched in terms which obliquely – but not quite explicitly – define partnership as based on seeing the inherent dignity and worth of all people made in the image of God. It also glosses over the fact that Christian Aid does not formally partner with some organisations struggling against poverty, powerlessness and injustice – in particular, churches – which it deems too weak to fruitfully contribute to development work.

Despite these shortcomings, all interviewees endorsed this conception of partnership. However, a number suggested, either directly or obliquely, that Christian Aid's understanding of partnership needs to be pushed further. One interviewee said that the power Christian Aid holds in the organisation's partnerships needs to be recalibrated through "a Christ-centred approach, or a faith-centred approach [which] presents equality and equity within that [power] dynamic. And not being afraid to release that."[702] The implication drawn from this statement is that a more equitable approach to partnership based upon Jesus' earthly ministry is considered to pose a threat to Christian Aid's powerful position as funding partner. According to another staff member in an observation session, such equality and equity is, by the very nature of Christian Aid's partnerships themselves, curbed. As the party holding the funding that partners require to continue their work, she claimed that such partnerships can never be equal. She mentioned her work with a Christian Aid partner extending assistance to both Israelis and Palestinians. She explained that while the Israelis were willing to question decisions and argue about policy changes without fear of funding being cut, Palestinians would be comparatively submissive and, if they disagreed with a directive, would simply avoid following it without being openly confrontational. She felt this reflected the two groups' differing levels of empowerment, and the fear of those already marginalised that honest dialogue could result in an end to the relationship – marginalising them still further.[703] A third research participant suggested that in some countries church partners in particular have the power to direct the work Christian Aid funds. "Very often the institutionalised church are quite powerful, they move very close to government power [and] become very

[701] Christian Aid, *Affirming Christian Aid's Faith Identity*. Christian Aid internal document, September 2011, 2.
[702] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:15:08 – 0:16:31.
[703] Observation 23, October 10, 2013, notes.

assertive… They don't want us to work around sensitive issues in their society."[704] This understanding of the power of those to whom funds are granted is important to explore. Giving and receiving hold almost unavoidable implications, casting individuals and institutions in roles of power and powerlessness – but this is not a straightforward dichotomy. Through association with the institutional church in their country, through membership of a global church, or by theological reflection that makes them call into question Christian Aid's approach, partners are able to wield power in a number of ways, both positive and negative. Christian Aid partners can bring their own relationships and frame of reference to their funding relationship with Christian Aid. In some cases this can mitigate, at least to some degree, the imbalance in power caused by being caught long-term in the role of economically powerless receiver.

Jesus' attitudes to power allow us explore this shift in Christian Aid's partnerships from asymmetrical patterns of power towards true mutuality and reciprocity. One of the most compelling examples is the way Jesus prioritised his followers and community over his family, in Mark 3:31-35.[705] John Dominic Crossan interprets this passages as Jesus attacking power, the power held by parents over children and men over women. This is concomitant with Jesus' challenges to imperial power. The family, in Crossan's view "is not just a center of domestic serenity; since it involves power, it invites abuse of power, and it is at that precise point that Jesus attacks it. His ideal group is, contrary to Mediterranean and indeed most human familial reality, an open one equally accessible to all under God. It is the Kingdom of God, and it negates that terrible abuse of power that is power's dark specter and lethal shadow."[706] Crossan's interpretation allows us to see in these verses a different lens through which Jesus communicates his radical views on power, a domestic lens which complements his public challenges to institutional power.[707] The true family of Jesus is open to all who recognise in his teaching and his actions the will of God to establish the kingdom of God on earth.[708] This belief in his message is the claim others can lay upon him, rather than the claim of blood ties.

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[704] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:21:07 – 0:22:04.
[705] "Then his mother and his brothers came; and standing outside, they sent to him and called him. A crowd was sitting around him; and they said to him, 'Your mother and your brothers and sisters are outside, asking for you.' And he replied, 'Who are my mother and my brothers?' And looking at those who sat around him, he said, 'Here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother.'"
[706] John Dominic Crossan, *Jesus: A revolutionary biography.* Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1995, 67.
[707] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 4-5.
[708] Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: A commentary.* Hendrickson, Massachusetts, 2002, 84.

Jesus is opening up a radical form of equality, which sweeps away both domestic and social hierarchies and obligations. In their place it establishes the ultimate primacy of the kingdom of God. Were Christian Aid to operate on such a maxim, all those working together in partnership to bring the kingdom of God to earth – donors, partners, and Christian Aid – would be considered truly equal in the pursuit of this shared purpose.

Any form of power through which one group or individual can dominate another is, in Crossan's interpretation of Jesus' teaching, wrong. This interpretation provides a challenge to Christian Aid's position as dominant funding partner, based in a wealthy and powerful country with access to global decision-making bodies such as the UN and World Bank. One interviewee, quoted in Section 3 of this chapter, highlighted this challenge, discussing his discomfort at being implicated in Christian Aid's association with unjust power structures.[709] However, another interviewee suggested that power of one party over another in any relationship is almost inevitable, even when that power is used with the best of intentions – as, she stated, is the case with Christian Aid.[710] As an organisation claiming to speak truth to power, Christian Aid must acknowledge that it needs to speak truth to itself, as the repository of considerable power. According to Rowan Williams, failure to speak openly about such an issue amounts to an attempt to retain the power Christian Aid has attained. "To make what is said invulnerable by displacing its real subject matter is a strategy for the retention of power. It can operate at either end of the social scale: in the language of those in control, and in the language of the powerless in the presence of the powerful."[711] Christian Aid's explicit discourse and "mythology" of partnership reflects the positive aspects of these relationships, but arguably obscures the reality of the dominance of the giver over the receiver. It is through open discussion of the "real subject matter" of Christian Aid's partnerships that the issue of power can be properly addressed.

By grappling openly with the implications of the roles of giver and receiver, Christian Aid will take the first steps towards recalibrating these relationships on

[709] "It is difficult, because you're challenging power and you are part of that power structure. Increasingly… people who work for Christian Aid are part of that power structure and would benefit from it here. It takes somebody with real guts to stand up and say 'this is wrong.' We don't, we rationalise it all. I'm part of that as well. I feel very uncomfortable." Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:28:30 – 0:31:12.
[710] Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:19:34 – 0:20:07.
[711] Rowan Williams, 'Theological Integrity.' *Cross Currents,* 45;3, Fall 1995, 313.

more equitable terms. Rather than fulfilling the roles of expectant receiver (from the UK churches) and dominant giver (to international partners), Christian Aid would become a conduit between the two.[712] Partnership as mutual friendship rather than dominant relationship would then prevail. One way in which Christian Aid can learn about such mutuality is through the L'Arche community's model of equality unbound by entrenched roles. The L'Arche model lives out the concept of the dignity and equal worth of all on a daily basis. It operates under the "paradox that our spiritual health and healing lies not in the pursuit of power, but in the welcome and integration of weakness, both in ourselves and the other."[713] The model takes the form of residential communities in which people living with intellectual disabilities form a household together with assistants, breaking down the traditional hierarchy of care giver/care receiver. Jean Varnier, the founder of L'Arche, describes the model of equality on which the community operates by stating: "God knows all persons in their deepest being and loves them in their brokenness. L'Arche is not a solution to a social problem, but a sign that love is possible and that we are not condemned to live in a state… where the strong crush the weak. Each person is unique, precious and sacred."[714]

An awareness that Christian Aid is not the solution to a social problem, but a means of bringing about Christ-inspired equality in the world, is part of the proposed shift towards partnership as equitable friendship without dominance. Jesus did not just ask that we do good for the poor, but that we see God in the poor. Christian Aid needs to re-discover God within the work of its partners in order to move beyond the idea that the organisation exists to help and empower the poor rather than live and work in equitable community with them. Such equitable community could be created by open acknowledgement and reflective engagement with the issue of dominance, and by properly valuing partners' theological reflections on the difficult issues Christian Aid seeks to address. One way to begin this process would be for staff to undertake an intentional reading of the bible with partners and poor communities engaged in long-term funding relationships with Christian Aid. Such mutual bible studies have taken place on an ad hoc basis in the past, but have not entered the praxis and reflective life of Christian Aid in any systematic way. David Ford has suggested that such shared biblical reflection can result in developing a

[712] Observation 12, October 30, 2012, 0:09:35 – 0:09:54.
[713] David F. Ford, *Christian Wisdom: Desiring God and learning in love.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 350.
[714] Jean Varnier, *The Heart of L'Arche: A spirituality for every day.* Novalis, Ontario, 1995, 9.

"lively idiom of Christian wisdom today, one that forms its expression in sustained engagement with scripture's testimony to God and God's purpose amidst the cries of the world… Prophetic scriptural wisdom is inextricably involved with the discernment of cries."[715] Christian Aid currently has pragmatic means by which 'cries' are heard and to which cries are responded through programmes; but no such theological or scriptural discernment of cries takes place as an embedded element of Christian Aid's development work. Without coherence between the practical response and the scriptural response to the cries of poor communities, Christian Aid risks a complete separation of its development work from its theological underpinnings. This in turn risks further loss of the organisation's prophetic voice. The loss of Christian Aid's prophetic voice is a result of a loss of understanding of scriptural teaching – in particular the earthly teachings of Jesus – and a distancing of Christian Aid's work with partners internationally from both the communication of this work to the churches in the UK, and the scriptural understanding which allows this work to be communicated in a compelling and truly Christian way. By reading the bible with partners, Christian Aid would seek to respond theologically to the cries of poor communities, and thereby build with partners a model of shared and equitable action through shared reflection and insight. These insights could then be communicated through a truly prophetic voice to the UK churches.

Although Christian Aid cannot absolve itself of responsibility for administering the funds it receives from donors and passes to partners, this process could be based much more on trust. Trust underpins all the relationships allowing Christian Aid to function as a faith-based funding partner, a fact underscored repeatedly in the organisation's strategy.[716] "All our work is based on trusting relationships. We bring people from different cultures and faiths together to fight poverty as global neighbours."[717] As a fundamental tenet of Christian belief[718] – and a term considered be some to be interchangeable with 'belief'[719] – trust is integral to Christian Aid's operations. The Protestant churches of the UK have entrusted the

[715] David F. Ford, *Christian Wisdom: Desiring God and learning in love.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 3 and 14.
[716] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*. Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, pp5, 6, 8, 13, 18, 21, 30.
[717] Ibid, 6.
[718] "God… does not coerce belief or clinch arguments, but… repeatedly demands relation and trust." Rowan Williams, *Meeting God in Mark.* SPCK, London, 2014, 39.
[719] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 25.

organisation to carry out development work on their behalf, and thereby entrust significant funds to Christian Aid. In turn, Christian Aid entrusts funds to partners carrying out development work with poor communities. However, overlaid upon this network of trust are the demands of the secular paradigm of development, which imposes accountability that tends only to work in one direction. By privileging the accountability of the receiver to the giver, of Christian Aid's international partners to Christian Aid, the trust that underpins Christian Aid's partnerships is undermined. Such accountability is not expected of Christian Aid by the UK churches. As Omri Elisher's study of evangelical giving in the US has highlighted, there is a perception that "without proper standards of accountability, compassionate Christians are too easily manipulated or taken advantage of by others."[720] Although project participants did not voice such a view, it is one with the potential to illuminate Christian Aid's expectations of accountability from partners, without this being balanced by requisite accountability of Christian Aid to the UK churches. One interviewee, who had worked both for a Christian Aid partner and for the organisation in the UK, stated that Christian Aid offered excellent support to partners in fulfilling the monitoring and evaluation requirements of funding agreements. But when she moved to work for the organisation itself, she was taken aback that Christian Aid was not accountable in the same way for the funds it receives from the UK churches and public.[721] Considerable trust is placed in Christian Aid by the organisation's sponsoring churches, a fact referred to by all four interviewees from these bodies.[722] The majority of the funds granted to Christian Aid partners for their work comes from the UK churches, but the trust placed by these churches in Christian Aid is not necessarily passed on to partners. This undermines the claims made by Christian Aid in organisational documents that trusting partnership is the bedrock of its operations. "Partnerships are only effective if time has been taken to build relationships of trust and in the process of this a working alliance has been established where each party has sufficient confidence in the other to work through any difficulties."[723] An undermining of the trust placed in Christian Aid by the UK churches has once before threatened the organisation and created cause to work through difficulties; by making itself both

[720] Omri Elisha, 'Moral Ambitions of Grace: The paradox of compassion and accountability in evangelical faith-based activism.' *Cultural Anthropology,* 23:1, 2008, 160-1.
[721] Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 0:15:36 – 0:16:04.
[722] Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 0:05:49 – 0:06:30; Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 0:03:07 – 0:03:34; Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 0:19:01 – 0:19:20; Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 0:03:39 – 0:04:27.
[723] Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney, and Clare Watkins, *Talking about God in Practice.* SCM Press, Norwich, 2010, 37.

more accountable to the churches and by placing greater trust in international partners, Christian Aid has the opportunity to rectify the imbalance in trust discernible within the organisation's partnerships.

With the permission and the compliance of the churches, both in the UK and globally, one pragmatic way for Christian Aid to increase the trust it invests in international partnerships is through the introduction of a fund that is not subject to standard monitoring and performance appraisals. Not only would this fund help build trust between Christian Aid and the partners that access it, it could potentially finance experimental development projects which may take longer to bear fruit, and would be deemed unworthy of funding under the normal reporting frameworks. Jacqueline Novogratz has long been an advocate for the outlay of "patient capital"[724] in developing country contexts, where swiftly achieved and closely measured outcomes are not always the most successful in the longer term. By establishing a fund without such expectations attached, Christian Aid would put in place a concrete means by which international partners would benefit from the same levels of trust which Christian Aid receives from the churches in the UK. Such a 'trust fund' embodying the concept of patient capital would truly put into practice Christian Aid's discourse of trust within partnership.

Power forms a lacuna in Christian Aid's explicit discourse of partnership, but despite this three staff members spoke of it directly,[725] and another referred to it obliquely.[726] Christian Aid's role as funding partner carries with it significant power, and a discomfort with the dominance that comes with such power lay behind the comments of interviewees. Rather than obscuring the inherent dominance of the role of giver behind a discourse of partnership referencing only the positive aspects of these relationships, Christian Aid must acknowledge the asymmetry in its partnerships, resulting from the entrenched roles of giver and receiver. Jesus' teaching on dominance in relationships, which emphasises that all who believe in and work for God's kingdom on earth are equals (Mark 3:35), forms a challenge to Christian Aid's asymmetrical paradigm of partnership. Christian Aid can respond to this challenge in three ways: by changing the prominence of its role within partnerships; by sharing scriptural reflection with partners and poor

[724] Jacqueline Novogratz, *The Blue Sweater: Bridging the gap between rich and poor in an interconnected world.* Rodale, New York, 2009, 189.
[725] Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 0:15:08 – 0:16:31; Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:21:07 – 0:22:04; Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 0:28:30 – 0:31:12.
[726] Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 0:19:34 – 0:20:07.

communities; and by establishing a 'trust fund,' making grants available to partners without traditional expectations of accountability. These are just three means by which a Christology from below could renew and reform Christian Aid's partnerships and praxis, which together have the potential to enable Christian Aid to respond to challenges issued concerning the asymmetric nature of the organisation's partnerships.

4.3. The Giver, the Receiver and the Gift Economy

Giving and receiving are central to relationship, in particular to the construction of partnership within Christian Aid's strategy and discourse. These concepts have been the source of considerable debate and controversy since the earliest days of the WCC, as discussed in Section 4.2.2 of Chapter One. The WCC's insistence upon mutuality,[727] and Lesslie Newbigin's warning that the roles of have and have-not, giver and receiver, would lead to the building of a neo-colonial structure of relationships,[728] have gone largely unheeded in ecumenical development over the past 60 years. As long as 30 years ago, voices within the WCC were calling for a rediscovery of spirituality, of sharing and of justice to break the deadlock of donor/recipient relationships.[729] A Christo-centric approach to partnership focused on a radical re-evaluation of the roles of giver and receiver is long overdue. Catholic Social Teaching – in particular, ideas exploring the gift economy within *Caritas in Veritate* – provides a basis for just such an approach. By placing at the centre of relationship the logic of the gift rather than the logic of transaction, greater trust and equality between giver and receiver can be nurtured. Christian Aid can draw insights from *Caritas in Veritate* together with Rowan Williams' ideas on the value brought to all relationships by both giver and receiver. When analysing these key sources, it must be remembered that Christian Aid is itself never simply the giver. The funds granted to the organisation's international partners come primarily from the UK churches or the UK government. Christian Aid is the conduit for these gifts, rather than the giver.[730] Receiving from churches and government in the UK, and giving to international partners in turn, places Christian Aid in the roles both of giver and receiver. A greater awareness of this dual role will be helpful in breaking down the conception – however well-disguised

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[727] David P. Gaines, *The World Council of Churches: A study of its background and history.* Richard R. Smith and Co., Peterborough, New Hampshire, 1966, 878.
[728] Lesslie Newbigin, *Unfinished Agenda: An autobiography.* SPCK, London, 1985, 178.
[729] Huibert van Beek, in an interview with Jean Stromberg, 'Towards a New System of Sharing.' *International Review of Mission,* 73, 1984, 216.
[730] Observation 12, October 30, 2012, 0:09:35 – 0:09:54.

– of Christian Aid as the powerful giver and international partners as the powerless receivers. As has already been noted, Rowan Williams' claim that we all have gifts to give and gifts to receive[731] is significant when applied to this context, as is Alasdair MacIntyre's insight that asymmetry in giving and receiving commonly results from these roles being assumed and these acts taking place in separate relationships – rarely are we called upon to receive from and give to the same individual or group.[732] This section will draw on this thinking and the ways in which Jesus manifest giving among equals within his earthly ministry to set out a future path for Christian Aid in which the logic of gift will enable greater mutuality within partnership to flourish.

Adherence to the norms of the secular development paradigm over the past decade or more, and the earlier inability of the WCC agencies to escape the rigid roles of donor and recipient, mean the concept of gift has no part in Christian Aid's organisational discourse. Christian Aid frames much of its discourse in the language of justice, characterising its work as redressing injustice rather than giving through kindness or compassion.[733] While this approach has significant merits, a culture of pursuing justice through transaction, rather than gift, has developed. To conceive of Christian Aid's work as channeling gifts – given and received in a spirit of justice – between the churches in the UK and poor communities internationally would bring richness and a sense of equality both to Christian Aid's role in this process, and to its understanding of partnership. These gifts must not be exclusively of a monetary nature, flowing outwards from the UK. The value of non-monetary gifts in this paradigm needs to be fully realised if equality between partners is to flourish.

Caritas in Veritate, Pope Benedict XVI's 2009 social encyclical, declares that it is impossible to "give what is mine to the other, without first giving him what pertains to him in justice."[734] In this way the encyclical prefaces discussion of the gift economy with a clear statement that ownership is subjective. Where there is

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[731] Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust: An introduction to Christian belief.* Canterbury Press, Norwich, 2007, 106-7.
[732] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Dependent Rational Animals: Why human beings need the virtues.* Duckworth, London, 1999, 100.
[733] Christian Aid, *Partnership for Change: The power to end poverty*. Organisational strategy, 2012 onwards, pp5 and 7 as examples.
[734] Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate,* 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_en.html. Viewed 1 November 2013, pt. 6.

disparity of wealth, giving should be considered as justice, rather than a transaction for which something is expected in return. *Caritas in Veritate* goes on to assert that both justice and gift must be elements of economic, social and political development, if such development is to be authentically human.[735] *Caritas in Veritate's* logic of the gift and the gift economy could bring a fuller understanding of gift as justice into dialogue with Christian Aid's existing concept of transactional justice to address global inequality. By offering what is due in order to bring about equality, rather than what the giver chooses to bestow in expectation of a particular outcome, Christian Aid's partnerships could move beyond a focus on funding to flourish upon a basis of gifts given in a spirit of justice. Compared to the neo-colonial donor-and-recipient relationships Lesslie Newbigin predicted would become entrenched in the WCC's development paradigm, gift-giving in the context of justice offers reparations for the exploitation of 'recipient' countries, which has allowed 'giving' countries to accumulate wealth.

The concept of giving, particularly of giving without obligation, can be explored in the story of Jesus' feeding of the 5,000 told in Mark 6:30-44. Jesus and the disciples find themselves in an isolated place at the end of the day with a multitude who have received spiritual, but not physical, nourishment. The disciples suggest to Jesus that the people must take responsibility for finding their own food. "Send them away, that they may go into the surrounding country and villages and buy themselves bread; for they have nothing to eat."[736] In response, Jesus is imperatively clear that it is the responsibility of the Twelve to feed the assembled masses. These masses "ran there on foot from all the cities"[737] to experience Jesus' leadership, giving themselves to his teaching. Jesus is unwilling to destroy their trust in him by turning them away to fend for themselves after they have followed him. The parallels with Moses' leadership of the exodus from Egypt and the gift from God of manna in the desert are sharply apparent.[738] As discussed in Section 4.2.1 of Chapter Two, Moses and Jesus embody, in differing ways, the ability to lead their people through prophetic teaching and action. Feeding is central to the identity of both as prophet – leadership and discernment of the will of God are of no great value if those being led starve. Jesus is the shepherd of the people. He

[735] Ibid, pt. 34.
[736] Mark, 6:36.
[737] Mark, 6:33.
[738] "The links are strong between the… miracle, the exodus and the Jewish traditions of the people and their shepherd." Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: A commentary.* Hendrickson, Massachusetts, 2002, 132.

instructs the disciples that they, too, must lead the flock by giving of themselves and feeding the masses. Physical nourishment is not a transaction, as the disciples suggest. It is a practice of sharing what one has, a practice deeply embedded within the community of believers Jesus gathers around him. What belongs to one belongs to all; those with means to purchase should not stand in a position of privilege or power over those who do not. The feeding of the 5,000 is a story with significant instructive power for Christian Aid. It demonstrates the logic of gift as justice, giving to all equally so that none flourish at the expense of others.

The giving of gifts and the sharing of commodities such as food are among the earliest human bonding activities.[739] Stemming from this understanding of gift as relationship, the claim has been made that, where gift economies are more prevalent than market economies, communities tend to flourish.[740] By giving to all what is their due, and removing the motivation to accumulate wealth, communities are more likely to be equitable. Although this idealised conception of the gift economy, drawn from anthropological studies, cannot be fully replicated in a world dominated by the market economy, it has lessons to teach us. Luigino Bruni and Stefano Zamagni use the term "fraternity" to express the idea of gift within the market economy, articulating the need for the market to bring equal benefits to all. "This kind of fraternity on the part of members of a community means feeling part of a common destiny, of being united by a link less exclusive and elective than friendship, but which is capable of generating feelings of reciprocal sympathy and which can and should be expressed even in ordinary market transactions."[741] This understanding that goods must be distributed to all in justice, if all are to benefit from economic systems, needs to underpin Christian Aid's relationships with its partners. The sense of community that comes through the exchange of gifts provides a new way of conceiving partnership. It is no longer merely based on a funding stream, in return for which the giver has the right to impose expectations and demands on the recipient. Recalibrating relationships in this way would involve attributing greater value to non-monetary gifts, which are currently overshadowed by the prominence of funding.

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[739] Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The Last Week: What the gospels really teach about Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.* SPCK, London, 2008, 37.
[740] David Bollier, *Silent Theft: The private plunder of our common wealth.* Routledge, New York, 2003, 38-9.
[741] 'Introduction,' Luigini Bruni and Stefano Zamagni, *Handbook on the Economics of Reciprocity and Social Enterprise.* Luigini Bruni and Stefano Zamagni (eds.), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham UK and Northampton, USA, 2013, 4.

As an interviewee quoted in Section 2 of Chapter Two suggested, the theological reflection of partners on the issues Christian Aid seeks to address is often far more meaningful and effective than the theological reflection of Christian Aid centrally,[742] which tends to be divorced from the conflict, poverty and deep inequality faced daily by poor communities. Although sporadic attempts to gather reflections from partners have been made in the past, this is not a systematic practice on which Christian Aid places significant value. In a context in which all gifts are attributed equal value, reflection emerging from the daily struggles of partners would seen as an asset, equal in value to funding.

As the channel between UK churches and international partners, Christian Aid could work with each to build a truly reciprocal relationship: a fraternal partnership of parties engaged in a form of gift economy. Churches in many developing countries are growing while attendance at traditional churches in the UK is dropping or plateauing.[743] Similarly, many traditional churches in the UK are deeply motivated by their faith to raise funds for international development work, but are perplexed that their ability to do so is diminishing, due to both falling membership and a lack of recognition of the place of the church in society more broadly.[744] Reciprocity can be found in the gifting of funds for development from the global North, and in gifting of the worship, reflection, bible studies and personnel that emerges from the more dynamic church contexts across the global South. By developing these more direct relationships between givers and receivers of gifts in UK churches and partners internationally, Christian Aid would enable churches in the UK to be more closely attuned to the issues they seek to address through social action and prayer. Currently, in asking UK churches to give to and pray for Christian Aid, rather than for and to partners directly, distance is created between those suffering poverty and oppression and those seeking to address it. Developing a closer relationship between those who fund Christian Aid's work and those who receive support from Christian Aid could also be seen as a response to Rowan Williams' assertion that we all have gifts to share in community with one another,[745] and that "if one member suffers, all suffer together with it; if one

[742] Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 0:12:51 – 0:13:16.
[743] 'Church Growth Research Programme.' http://www.churchgrowthresearch.org.uk/statistics. Viewed 8 June 2014.
[744] Observation 3, July 5, 2012, 0:35:13 – 0:37:10.
[745] Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust: An introduction to Christian belief.* Canterbury Press, Norwich, 2007, 106-7.

member is honoured, all rejoice together with it."[746] Were Christian Aid to assume a less prominent place in its partnerships with the churches in the UK and partners internationally, a much stronger sense of community between these entities would flourish.

Williams' conception of how gifts should be shared in community is predicated upon mutuality and reciprocity, echoing Bruni and Zamagni's proposals on fraternity. Williams is deeply critical of situations in which the roles of giver and receiver remain fixed, claiming that the mutuality of relationship must extend to mutuality of giving and receiving. "Relations that we call 'loving' are mutually constructive; they are not all gift on one side and all receiving on the other. Such a pattern would mean that one party could never 'grow up' to the status of giver, but would always be looking to have his or her needs met by the other – an infantile perspective; while the person who is defined as 'giver' only is one we look on with some suspicion, asking what is being blocked or denied by the refusal or inability to receive."[747] Such an inability to grow can be seen in the fixed nature of Christian Aid's roles of giver and receiver in its relations with UK churches and international partners. Significant consequences arise while Christian Aid occupies these roles: true partnership is not encouraged to flourish between those who are actually doing the giving and receiving; non-monetary gifts such as those of theological reflection from the people experiencing poverty, disasters and conflict are not given proper value; and suffering and joy on the part of both churches and partners cannot be keenly felt while Christian Aid is positioned between the two to absorb the shocks and triumphs. Of course, Christian Aid has a significant role to play; but that role is of a channel, as suggested by one interviewee,[748] rather than a demanding recipient or powerful giver. By placing proper value on the origin and the destination of the gifts, rather than on Christian Aid's role in administering the process of transfer, the suffering and rejoicing of the members of the Body of Christ to which 1 Corinthians 12:26 refers can be fully felt. In a relationship of true partnership, churches in the UK and partners internationally could feel each other's joy and pain in the process of development and the spiritual growth that accompanies it – development funded by gifts from UK churches and spiritual growth driven by gifts of reflection from partners embedded in poor communities. In this context, the growth in relationship that Rowan Williams sees as an integral

[746] 1 Corinthians 12:26.
[747] Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology.* Blackwell, Oxford and Malden, 2000, 69.
[748] Observation 12, October 30, 2012, a comment from interviewee 14, 0:04:55 – 0:05:32.

part of the roles of giver and receiver could flourish. By developing more direct partnerships between givers and receivers, Christian Aid would move to a closer understanding of eternal truth and love, which Williams claims comes out of the respect we show to others as being made in the image of God.[749]

The gift economy is relevant to all economic activity, including the capitalist marketplace.[750] Perhaps one reason Christian Aid does not consider monetary transactions with partners as gifts made in a spirit of justice is its unwillingness to discuss these transactions as economic activity at all. Christian Aid's "mythology of partnership,"[751] found in its explicit organisational and theological discourse, tends to skim the surface of this central aspect of the organisation's work and identity. It focuses on relationships rather than the concrete exchanges upon which these relationships are predicated. By engaging in open discussion about the nature of these exchanges, re-evaluating Christian Aid's place within such exchanges, and attributing greater value to the non-monetary gifts which are a neglected element of the paradigm of partnership, mutuality and greater equality within partnership would begin to flourish.

4.4. A Theology of Mutual Partnership

Partnership is a contested concept within Christian Aid's discourse and praxis of faith-led development. The aspiration to partner in a spirit of equality and mutuality has not always been carried through in practice, but there is a sense that this is not for want of goodwill and intention on the part of the organisation's leadership and staff. Rather, the theological tools needed to reflect on the nature of true partnership have not been readily available, forming a lacuna on the subject in the organisation's discourse. Without open discussion and reflection on power and its implications for Christian Aid's partnerships, dominance goes unrecognised and relationships are distorted. While such reflection is crucial to creating change in Christian Aid's partnerships, this section has proposed three pragmatic steps which, taken alongside such reflection, could recapture the Christ-inspired equality on which Christian Aid was founded. Bringing God's kingdom to earth can only happen through equal relationship, as Jesus demonstrated time and again through

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[749] Rowan Williams, *Where God Happens: Discovering Christ in one another.* New Seeds, Boston, 2007, 12.
[750] Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate,* 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_en.html. Viewed 1 November 2013, pt. 36.
[751] Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 0:12:54 – 0:13:07.

his teaching. With concrete changes to Christian Aid's relationships, glimpses of how the organisation and its partners can be a part of the present kingdom can be experienced.

First, it is proposed that reflection on the asymmetric nature of Christian Aid's partnerships should result in a change to the organisation's role within them. No longer the expectant recipient of funds from the UK churches, or the dominant giver in relationships with partners, Christian Aid must enable the UK churches and international partners to draw together in closer relationship. Christian Aid should simply assume the role of channel between. No longer the entity to which churches give, or that from which partners receive, Christian Aid will not be an end-point and a beginning in relationships, but a conduit enabling exchange between the true givers and receivers. As part of this exchange, giving and receiving between churches and partners must become a mutual act, within which all gifts – not just those of a monetary nature – are valued. The theological reflection of partners and poor communities on the issues at the heart of Christian Aid's work are significantly under-valued in the current paradigm of partnership. A shift towards a partnership model based upon the gift economy would see value placed on all gifts, not just on gifts of funds. Such redistribution of value is crucial if Christian Aid is to recapture its prophetic voice. By placing proper value on the reflections of partners and poor communities – ideally through mutual bible studies – the prophetic call to the UK churches could once more be rooted in scripture, dynamic and irresistible. Joint study of the bible would accord proper value to the reflections arising from the work of partners and communities, and would build trust between these groups and Christian Aid staff. The true test of this trust would come in Christian Aid making available a 'trust fund' for partners to use to implement new and untried projects. These projects may not pay dividends in terms of development outcomes in the short-term, but such investment based upon the concept of "patient capital"[752] would allow partners the freedom to use their experience and expertise to innovate, undertaking development driven by their own reflection, within their own context and frame of reference. Together, these measures respond to the challenges issued by research participants to Christian Aid's current paradigm of partnership. They would recalibrate the concept of partnership on the basis of the equality Jesus demands of those who work to bring about God's

[752] Jacqueline Novogratz, *The Blue Sweater: Bridging the gap between rich and poor in an interconnected world.* Rodale, New York, 2009, 189.

kingdom on earth. Power is an inevitable distortion of all relationships, particularly those in which money plays a crucial part; but the logic of gift and scriptural teaching on the value of the gifts of all make it possible to transcend such distortions and reach toward Christ-inspired equity in relationship.

5. Conclusion: Towards a Prophetic Future in Christ

This chapter has drawn together key strands of discourse outlined in Chapters One and Two to construct a renewed theology of development for Christian Aid. This task is a response to the key research question of the thesis: *Should theology drive the international development work of Christian Aid and, if so, how?* The method employed to form this response involved taking the challenges issued by research participants to the formal interpretation of scripture found in Christian Aid's explicit theology, and using these challenges to creatively renew the organisation's theological approach to development. This method has taken into account the fact that, in the absence of official Protestant church teachings on development, normativity is not a straightforward issue in Christian Aid's discourse. Therefore, what would commonly be considered the 'formal' theological voice of the organisation has assumed a quasi-normative role. It is to this formal interpretation of scripture that the challenges of interviewees were most commonly issued.

By exploring the challenges posed by interviewees, and the theological approach of other faith-based organisations and particular members of the academy concerned with addressing human suffering in the theological sphere, a Christology of development constructed 'from below' was outlined. This Christology was used to reconcile the dissonance between Christian Aid's theological voices, and laid out a new theological path for the organisation. To contextualise the creation of this Christological framework, an examination of the faith basis of two comparable faith-based organisations set out to establish two things. First, whether it is in fact the theology of these organisations that bestows upon them a distinct character and purpose; and second, whether action should drive the reflection creating such theologies, or whether the reflection would more creatively and beneficially drive action. By concluding that the unique nature and purpose of faith-based organisations is predicated upon reflection upon praxis, and that action should flow from reflection rather than vice versa, the response to the core enquiry of this chapter drew initial justification from sources external to Christian Aid.

The Christology of development from below is proposed as the means by which the reflection guiding Christian Aid's praxis can most significantly benefit the organisation. It is a creative response to the challenges issued by interviewees (drawn from the wisdom of practice) to the interpretation of scripture found in Christian Aid's explicit theology. Christology from below was identified as a significant lacuna in the organisation's discourse. Attention to this lacuna has the potential to reconcile the dissonance in Christian Aid's theological discourses. A Christology from below has been used to construct a framework through which staff can reflect on action by examining the explicit correlation between their work and the teaching and actions of the historical Jesus. Crucial to such reflection is a renewed understanding of the crucifixion and resurrection as a journey to transformation.

These Christological recalibrations have broad implications for Christian Aid's work. This is particularly true of the partnership model on which this work is predicated, and on which the organisation's identity largely depends. A Christological approach has the potential to create new ways of reflecting on the asymmetry in Christian Aid's partnerships. This asymmetry was identified by research participants but exists only as a lacuna in the organisation's formal discourse and explicit theology. Furthermore, Christian Aid's focus on transaction and outcome in its partnerships could benefit from attention to ideas of gift and the gift economy, moving towards a position where the gifts of all are valued equally. Giving and receiving are acts and roles that have received little attention in Christian Aid's discourse of partnership. It is in reflecting on these aspects of the organisation's relationships with others that asymmetry can be acknowledged and addressed.

Throughout the discussion and analysis of Christian Aid's theological discourse, anxiety about the organisation's ability to be prophetic has been ever-present. In Section 4.2.1 of Chapter Two it is claimed that the ability to be prophetic is demonstrated through discernment and prediction. Christian Aid's discernment and prediction could be more creatively informed in future by attention to the earthly acts of Jesus, and an examination of how an understanding of scriptural teaching from below can be brought to bear on our current global context. Discernment comes through listening, watching, learning and understanding that divine wisdom exists in places beyond Christian Aid's explicit discourse. A prophetic culture and voice must draw on the wisdom of many: givers and

receivers, as well as those who form the channel in between. By examining scripture in collaboration with partners, Christian Aid could begin to draw on sources of wisdom currently unrepresented in the organisation's discourse – sources of wisdom that bring with them the discernment required to be prophetic.

A Christology of development from below as a renewed theology driving Christian Aid's discourse and praxis does not seek to impose meaning. It looks to draw meaning from the implicit, the explicit, and the null and to discern how these can become reconciled through a new way of understanding Christian Aid's work. These unreconciled voices in the organisation's discourse do not provide the insight and inspiration needed to be prophetic; therefore, such reconciliation through a Christology from below will enable Christian Aid to undertake the reflection necessary to shape for the organisation a future concerned with calling others to join in equal partnership to bring divine justice to earth. It is in this way that theology should drive the development work of Christian Aid.

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis, examining the various theological voices at work within Christian Aid, provides a particular view of the organisation at a unique moment in its evolution. Between the autumn of 2011 and the winter of 2014/15, huge shifts occurred in the conception and articulation of Christian Aid's identity, discernible in both the discourse and praxis manifest within the organisation. By empirically examining the theological forces shaping Christian Aid's return to a faith basis, at precisely the time that such crucial changes occurred, this thesis builds upon previous research examining the organisation during its secular period.

Empirical studies, which employ qualitative methods of research, give an inevitably subjective, but often deeply insightful view of a particular topic or area of research. At a point when researchers and practitioners are struggling to articulate and map a future path for development in which faith-based organisations are highly valued participants, this study offers deep insight into an organisation which has much to contribute to the intersecting discourses of secular and faith-based development. In particular, Christian Aid can offer a considered viewpoint upon the question of why theologically-driven development is of value – having recently made a conscious choice to operate as a faith-based entity rather than a secular organisation. Christian Aid now occupies an unusual position, "in the world but not of the world,"[753] on the cusp of secular and faith-based development discourse and praxis.

This study of the theological voices at work within Christian Aid, how they currently influence the work of the organisation and could go further in doing so in future, was structured around three key research questions:

1. *Should theology drive the international development work of Christian Aid and, if so, how?*
2. *How are the various theological voices (implicit, explicit and null) at work within Christian Aid expressed and understood, and how do they exert influence over staff, supporters and sponsoring churches?*
3. *What are the points of consensus and contention between secular and faith discourses of development, and how do they each influence the other?*

[753] Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 0:22:03 – 0:22:14.

Addressed within the three major chapters of the thesis in reverse order (from Question 3 to Question 1), these questions take the reader on a gradually narrowing path, from discussing the key literature upon which the study draws, the historical context of faith and secular development and the theoretical basis of the study (Question 3); to presentation and analysis of fieldwork data specific to the theological life and work of Christian Aid (Question 2); to reach the crucial question of how theology should, in future, provide the energy for Christian Aid's development work (Question 1). These research questions reflect the inter-disciplinary nature of this study, straddling development and theology and seeking to provide insights of benefit to each field as they move into closer relationship with one another. Further, the research questions draw out the unique ability of Christian Aid to inform the process of greater integration and increasing mutual learning between faith and secular development, from the organisation's unusual experience of undergoing shifts from a faith identity, to a secular mode of operation, and back again. Enquiring into the theological underpinning of Christian Aid's development work is a process of drawing together areas of discourse and praxis across theology and development which are rarely studied as one; and it is the three research questions which have underpinned and guided the interdisciplinary nature of this study.

This concluding chapter of the thesis will draw together the main threads of enquiry with the key findings of the study, providing proposals for research in the area of theologically-driven development which can in future build upon what this study of Christian Aid has established. First, the key findings of the thesis – addressed according to the research question to which each finding responded – will be articulated. The implications of these findings for both theory and praxis will then be explored. Finally, recommendations for future research arising from these findings and their implications will be laid out. It is therefore the intention of this concluding chapter to review what has been learned in the course of this study and to explore the ways in which such learning can be of use in the future.

2. THE KEY FINDINGS

Each of the key findings of this thesis will be reviewed in this section, following the reverse order of the three research questions. Each of these questions taps into particular gaps in either empirical knowledge or existing literature (gaps both general and particular), and each question is designed to contribute to an overall response which is truly unique and sets up possibilities for future research.

2.1. RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Over the 70 years of the organisation's lifespan, both the secular discourse of development and the faith discourse of development have exerted considerable influence upon Christian Aid. This influence has come about not just as a result of Christian Aid's shifting organisational identity; it is also a result of the tensions inherent in operating as a faith-based organisation in a field in which secular ideas and voices tend to be those wielding greatest influence. The response to Research Question 3 formulated in Chapter One highlighted the relevance of both faith and secular development discourse and praxis, reflecting the tension between these which has become such a prominent element of Christian Aid's organisational identity.

The lack of coherent Protestant teaching on development – comparable to that provided by Catholic Social Teaching – is just one prominent reason among many for Protestant organisations within the faith-based development sector (such as Christian Aid) to have turned to secular frameworks for development. The capabilities approach has, for this reason, emerged as a significant influence within both the development sector as a whole, and within Christian Aid's explicit theological discourse of development. Despite the criticism which the capabilities approach has come under from various theologians and sociologists of religion (such as Stanley Hauerwas and Severine Deneulin), the theories of Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum and other 'capabilists' share a fundamental belief with Christianity: the essential dignity and equality of all people. This belief is manifest within capability theory as the valuing of the individual over the community, a position that poses a direct challenge to certain aspects of Christian development theory and praxis, which focus upon the community as the most significant social construct through which change can be brought about. As an organisation professing to be influenced by both capability theory and Christian thinking on

development, Christian Aid suffers from holding a fractured theoretical framework at its core. Normativity is therefore a fraught issue for Christian Aid. Does scripture, interpreted through the explicit theology, provide the normative voice of the organisation? Or is normativity provided by the capabilities approach specifically, and the secular discourse of development more generally? Chapter One having identified this contention from a historical and theoretical perspective, we now turn to the findings of Chapter Two to discover how this tension over normativity is manifest in the daily talk, work and reflection of Christian Aid staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches.

2.2. Research Question 2

When presented and analysed in Chapter Two, the data gathered during the fieldwork stage of this study reflected the main findings of the historical, literary and theoretical enquiry undertaken in Chapter One: namely, that the lack of a universally-accepted normative framework of development within Christian Aid has affected the organisation's identity and values and, perhaps most significantly of all, Christian Aid's prophetic voice. The inability to fully reclaim this prophetic voice, calling the churches to act in response to global poverty and suffering in biblically-inspired ways, was identified as evidence that Christian Aid has not yet successfully forged a means of working which coherently unites the pragmatic and the theological, the earthly and the transcendent. Two areas through which such unity could be achieved, and Christian Aid's propheticism reclaimed, were identified through lacunae, or silences, in the fieldwork data. The first of these is a Christologically balanced basis to the organisation's theology of development, which speaks to the praxis of the organisation; and the second is equitable partnership drawing upon such a Christological basis in both discourse and praxis. The lack of reconciliation observed between Christian Aid's explicit, implicit and null theological voices touches many areas of the organisation's life and work; but it was Christology and partnership which were identified as the two most crucial areas for Christian Aid's future as a theologically-reconciled organisation with a strong prophetic voice calling the churches to action in unity. If the organisation is unable to draw inspiration from its basis in faith to inspire its day-to-day work, theology and development are still dissonant, rather than coherent, forces within the organisation. This dissonance, focusing upon Christology, partnership and the ability to speak and act prophetically, therefore formed the focus of the response formulated to Research Question 1 in Chapter Three.

2.3. Research Question 1

As the response to the core research question around which this thesis is constructed, Chapter Three concluded that if Christian Aid is to become a truly faith-based entity, theology must provide the impetus and energy for the organisation's development work. In order to do so, Christian Aid must reconcile the dissonance uncovered in the analysis of data undertaken in Chapter Two. Christology and partnership are key to such reconciliation; and the result of a renewed theology of development focused upon these areas would be a recasting of Christian Aid as an organisation able to speak and act prophetically.

The Christological focus of Christian Aid's explicit theological voice, emphasising the transcendent over the earthly, has caused this theology to be regarded as dissociated from the pragmatic, earthly, day-to-day development work in which a majority of those associated with Christian Aid are engaged. The renewed theology of development proposed in response to Research Question 1 balances the existing Christology of development from above with a Christology of development from below – enabling personal reflection-upon-action by Christian Aid staff, supporters and sponsoring churches to form a central element of the organisation's theology.

Such a Christology of development from below could have a profound impact upon the ways in which Christian Aid carries out its partnership model. Through attention to Christ's acts of solidarity with the poor and marginalised – which are currently overshadowed in Christian Aid's explicit theology of development by attention to Christ's healing miracles – new models of being and working in partnership, which have both a scriptural and a pragmatic basis, could be realised. The change in Christian Aid's partnership model could be brought about in a number of ways. Open reflection upon Christian Aid's place within partnership – moving away from the fixed roles of powerful giver and powerless receiver – would be a first step. Using the framework of the gift economy to value the gifts of all members of the Christian Aid community equally would be a second step. In making this latter shift, the non-monetary gifts of partners and poor communities – such as theological reflections and contextual bible studies – would be given proper value. By undertaking bible studies in partnership, deeper insight could be gained by those working in the UK into the particular challenges faced by the poor communities with which Christian Aid partners. Crucially, the proper value placed

upon such biblical reflection would entail this activity becoming a core element of the day-to-day work of staff, for which they are paid. Such proper value cannot become established unless this activity is accorded equal status with the other tasks expected of Christian Aid staff. Finally, a 'trust fund' open to partners which is not subject to standard monitoring and evaluation requirements would pass onto Christian Aid partners the trust placed by UK churches in their giving to the organisation, and allow new, creative and untried development projects to be piloted, without the expectation that funding will be cut if the desired results are not delivered within a specified timeframe. Embedding trust in both the name of this fund, and in the management of its resources, will be key to ensuring that it works to recalibrate Christian Aid's relationships with partners, rather than becoming akin to funding streams already available.

A renewal of Christian Aid's partnership approach through changes to both the organisation's reflective life and the pragmatic undertakings of day-to-day development work in the ways outlined above would set the framework for an organisation driven by a Christology which draws upon the earthly as well as the transcendent. In so doing, discourse and praxis will be drawn into a more cohesive whole, enabling Christian Aid to reflect upon and speak from a basis of scripturally-inspired action. Such a shift is crucial if the organisation is to once more claim a prophetic role in the life of the churches. It is in this way that theology should drive the day-to-day development work of Christian Aid.

2.4. The Key Findings: Ongoing Implications

The key findings of the thesis, outlined in response to each research question in the preceding pages, progress in a consciously narrowing pattern, from the general to the particular. It is impossible to understand either Christian Aid's current discourse and praxis, or the future path outlined in response to Research Question 3, without first understanding the literary, historical and theoretical context from which the organisation's current challenges have sprung. The substantiating evidence which underpins each of the key findings is drawn from either existing literature on development and theology, or – uniquely to this project – fieldwork data generated through fifteen months' close attention to the daily talk, work and reflection of Christian Aid. It is anticipated that the unique nature of this project, undertaken as it was at such a crucial point in the evolution of Christian Aid as a

faith-based and theologically-driven organisation, will have implications beyond the life of this thesis, in terms of both theory and praxis.

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRAXIS

As the key findings outlined in Section 2 of this conclusion make clear, the unresolved tensions currently manifest within Christian Aid are not always clear to those affected by them on a day-to-day basis; and, when these are discussed within Christian Aid, it is often through oblique reference or attention to what is unsaid that these tensions can be identified and resolved. Although the proposals for paths forward for Christian Aid developed in this thesis are theoretical in nature, these have significant implications for praxis.

A Christology of development is just such a theoretical proposal, with implications for praxis in particular areas – notably partnership. Key to instituting the changes outlined in Chapter Three will be a process of organisational reflection. A fully owned Christology of development from below, which is understood by staff, supporters and staff of sponsoring churches to the extent that it becomes the underpinning for their daily work and decision-making, can only come about through participatory reflection. The shared bible studies proposed in Chapter Three could be one element of such reflection; as could other forms of theologically focused workshops and discussion groups. Key to this process will be the valuing of personal experience, of the work undertaken 'on the ground' by staff, partners and communities, informing such reflection upon how a Christology of development from below could transform Christian Aid's reflective life and development praxis.

Such a drawing-together of reflection upon scripture and praxis – each informing the other in the generation of a renewed theology – would need to be predicated upon a clear understanding of Christian Aid's normative frame. Currently, scripture vies with the capabilities approach for this role, resulting in confusion and a lack of cohesion. A pressing need was uncovered in the course of this research for Christian Aid to address the issue of normativity, if the theological discourse of development is to be reconciled and brought into full and coherent unity with the organisation's day-to-day praxis of development.

One area this study did not touch upon is the possible implications of the renewed theological path proposed in affecting Christian Aid's relationships with institutional donors, such as the UK Government's Department for International Development, and the European Union. If a renewed theology of development is to resolve the dissonance discerned within this study, day-to-day praxis will be affected – particularly in terms of the changes proposed to Christian Aid's ways of working in partnership. The implications for funding relationships must be considered as part of the organisational reflection required to discern how Christian Aid could live out the shifts in reflection and practice proposed within this study.

The findings of this thesis are not only intended for digestion, contemplation and action by those associated with Christian Aid. It is possible that a study of this depth and extent could enable secular funders to come to a fuller understanding of how a faith-based development organisation operates and how the secular frame of development affects such operation. It is also possible that other organisations struggling with their faith identity could find in these pages insights enabling them to progress on the journey of developing their own faith identity. Despite the particularity of the focus of this study upon Christian Aid, the implications of the findings of this study – both theoretical and practical – could well go beyond the organisation studied and affect the field of faith-based development more broadly.

4. Recommendations for Future Research

Although this thesis provides a particular view of an organisation at a unique point in its evolution, this study is not intended to remain static, locked in perpetuity as an examination of Christian Aid at a theological and organisational turning-point. Instead, there are two major steps beyond this study, which could significantly enhance the learning already engaged upon.

First, theological action research could be used in its full, unabridged form as an opportunity to draw staff, supporters, partners and staff of sponsoring churches into deeper reflection upon Christian Aid's theology than was provided by this study. At the time this research project was embarked upon, Christian Aid was in a state of high tension over the organisation's return to a faith basis, and open conversation – such as that brought about by theological action research – would have been very difficult, likely to inflame rather than resolve tensions. As a result, a

more traditional ethnographic approach, employing interview and observation, was embarked upon. This study therefore exists as a listening exercise and a process of an individual's discernment within a particular situation at a particular time. If theological action research were to be deployed across Christian Aid to explore how a Christology of development from below could enhance Christian Aid's partnerships and other areas of work, the changes proposed within this study could be fully owned by the organisation and those associated with it.

Second, an extension of this study focusing upon the theological voices at work within Christian Aid's partner organisations could be undertaken. Keen readers would have noted the inclusion of partners in the list of those who should participate in theological action research at Christian Aid. This is one way in which the perspective of partners upon the issues explored in this thesis could be heard; another option is a full-scale ethnographic study such as this one. The decision not to include partner voices in this study was made early on, due to the constraints of geography and time. It was with regret that this aspect of the research was laid aside; but it is an area begging for comparative research to be carried out. The results of such a study could complement the findings of this research, and offer significant and interesting challenges to these findings.

These are just two possible permutations of future research building upon the findings of this study; but they are the two of most relevance and urgency if this study is to become a dynamic, living force both in the life of Christian Aid and in the study of faith-based development more broadly.

5. THE FUTURE: A THEOLOGICAL PARADIGM OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Addressing staff during Christian Aid Week 2014, Rowan Williams quipped that when asked what occupies him now he is no longer Archbishop of Canterbury, he always replies that he is the Chair of the Board of Christian Aid before saying he is the Master of a Cambridge college – the reason being that he likes to demonstrate that he has some vestiges of moral fibre remaining![754] Williams went on to say that Christian Aid, and Christian Aid Week more particularly, provides not only the moral fibre of those closely concerned with the organisation, but of the nation as a whole. By mobilising more than 100,000 churchgoers to knock on doors and ask

[754] Rowan Williams, address to Christian Aid staff, 13 May, 2014.

for money for the world's poorest communities, Christian Aid Week is a refusal to allow the people of the UK to turn away from our brothers and sisters who are suffering. Christian Aid has fulfilled this role as both a secular entity and a faith-based organisation. Throughout, the organisation's ability to bring to the forefront of the nation's consciousness the situation of the poorest and most marginalized could be viewed as truly prophetic. But as this study has demonstrated, a coherent theology of development that draws deeply upon the organisation's praxis is vital if Christian Aid is to go beyond the simple propheticism of the act of asking for funds on behalf of the poor.

By examining the history, literature and theoretical source material pertaining to theologies of development, and by paying close attention to the discourse and praxis of the organisation, the conclusion was reached – in response to the key research question – that theology *should* drive the international development work of Christian Aid, through a renewed approach allowing greater confluence of theory and praxis. A renewed theology of development, with greater emphasis upon Christology from below, would enable the reflections of those working for and associated with Christian Aid to be drawn into theological discourse and given proper value, thereby grounding this discourse firmly in the work of the organisation whilst enabling the transcendent to influence this work on a day-to-day basis.

Undertaken at a particular point in Christian Aid's evolution, this study sheds light on the tensions and challenges inherent in both the discourse and praxis of faith-based development, and offers a means by which theology and the praxis of development could become two parts of a cohesive whole. Such cohesion would enable not only a renewal of reflection and praxis, but of the organisation's prophetic voice. Building upon previous studies of Christian Aid in the organisation's secular phase, this thesis was undertaken at a unique time in the life of Christian Aid and therefore provides a significant contribution to the interdisciplinary study of theology and development and how these fields intersect in the life and work of a particular organisation. This thesis shows that theology and development are not dichotomous, but deeply intertwined in certain contexts, from which significant insight on the future cohesion of these fields can be gleaned.

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2. INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW	INTERVIEWEE ROLE
Interview 1, August 21, 2012, 00:48:50.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 2, September 7, 2012, 00:44:13.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 3, September 12, 2012, 00:52:37.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 4, September 17, 2012, 00:27:30.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 5, September 25, 2012, 00:43:12.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 6, October 4, 2012, 00:42:00.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 7, October 8, 2012, 01:34:00.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 8, October 18, 2012, 00:32:17.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 9, October 24, 2012, 01:02:25.	Christian Aid staff member (international)
Interview 10, October 29, 2012, 00:45:56.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 11, October 31, 2012, 00:31:44.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 12, November 7, 2012, 00:43:50.	Christian Aid staff member (international)
Interview 13, November 8, 2012, 00:17:38.	Christian Aid staff member (previously international)
Interview 14, November 12, 2012, 00:39:17.	Christian Aid staff member (international)
Interview 15, November 22, 2012, 00:26:34.	Christian Aid supporter/volunteer

Interview 16, November 28, 2012, 00:24:48.	Staff of Christian Aid sponsoring church
Interview 17, November 30, 2012, 00:16:39.	Christian Aid supporter/volunteer
Interview 18, November 30, 2012, 00:23:06.	Staff of Christian Aid sponsoring church
Interview 19, December 4, 2012, 00:32:52.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 20, December 5, 2012, 00:18:36.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 21, December 14, 2012, 00:32:58.	Christian Aid supporter/volunteer
Interview 22, January 15, 2013, 00:37:31.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 23, January 15, 2013, 00:33:56.	Staff of Christian Aid sponsoring church
Interview 24, January 29, 2013, interview notes.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 25, February 4, 2013, 00:14:41.	Christian Aid supporter/volunteer
Interview 26, February 26, 2013, 00:43:51.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 27, May 7, 2013, interview notes.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 28, May 9, 2013, 00:30:12.	Christian Aid staff member
Interview 29, May 14, 2013, 00:36:37.	Staff of Christian Aid sponsoring church
Interview 30, June 7, 2013, 00:32:44.	Christian Aid staff member (international)

3. OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATION	OBSERVATION PURPOSE
Observation 1, July 2, 2012, 01:34:18.	Christian Aid staff discussing worship and theology
Observation 2, July 4, 2012, 01:27:52.	Meeting of managers from across Christian Aid
Observation 3, July 5, 2012, 00:44:05.	Supporter evaluation of Christian Aid Week 2012
Observation 4, July 5, 2012, 02:21:20.	Supporter evaluation of Christian Aid Week 2012
Observation 5, August 23, 2012, 00:47:54.	Christian Aid staff discussing church relationship strategy
Observation 6, September 27, 2012, 02:01:06.	Christian Aid staff discussing working with churches
Observation 7, September 27, 2012, 00:51:57.	Christian Aid staff discussing working with churches (continued)
Observation 8, October 9, 2012, 0:2:31:07.	Meeting of managers from across Christian Aid
Observation 9, October 9, 2012, 00:38:42.	Meeting of managers from across Christian Aid
Observation 10, October 10, 2012, 00:19:12.	Meeting of managers from across Christian Aid
Observation 11, October 18, 2012, 03:32:14.	Christian Aid staff discussing worship and theology
Observation 12, October 30, 2012, 00:53:07.	Christian Aid staff discussing what makes the organisation unique
Observation 13, November 20, 2012,	Christian Aid staff consulting with church

01:02:12.	leaders of supporting denominations
Observation 14, December 6, 2012, 00:38:54.	Christian Aid staff meeting with the leaders of a particular sponsoring church
Observation 15, January 23, 2013, 02:24:19.	Christian Aid staff discussing how the organisation works with the church globally
Observation 16, January 30, 2013, 01:40:34.	Christian Aid staff discussing worship and theology
Observation 17, March 6-7, 2013, session notes.	Meeting of managers from across Christian Aid
Observation 18, March 18, 2013, 00:57:19.	Christian Aid staff meeting with the leaders of a church partner from the Democratic Republic of Congo
Observation 19, May 23, 2013, 00:34:47.	Christian Aid staff discussing churches on a supporter journey with the organisation
Observation 20, June 3, 2013, 01:23:02.	Christian Aid staff discussing worship and theology
Observation 21, June 6-7, 2013, session notes.	Christian Aid staff discussing how the organisation works with the church globally
Observation 22, June 24, 2013, 00:43:14.	Feedback to staff from across Christian Aid on early findings from data gathered for this research project
Observation 23, October 10, 2013, 00:27:32.	Meeting with outgoing staff members
Observation 24, November 22, 2013, session notes.	Presentation of Christian Aid's gender mainstreaming

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APPENDICES

2nd July 2012

Catherine Loy,
Department of Education & Professional Studies

Dear Catherine,

REP(EM)/11/12-51 'Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organisation.'

I am pleased to inform you that the above application has been reviewed by the E&M Research Ethics Panel that FULL APPROVAL is now granted.

Please ensure that you follow all relevant guidance as laid out in the King's College London Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research (http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/index.php?id=247).

For your information ethical approval is granted until 01/07/15. If you need approval beyond this point you will need to apply for an extension to approval at least two weeks prior to this explaining why the extension is needed, (please note however that a full re-application will not be necessary unless the protocol has changed). You should also note that if your approval is for one year, you will not be sent a reminder when it is due to lapse.

Ethical approval is required to cover the duration of the research study, up to the conclusion of the research. The conclusion of the research is defined as the final date or event detailed in the study description section of your approved application form (usually the end of data collection when all work with human participants will have been completed), not the completion of data analysis or publication of the results. For projects that only involve the further analysis of pre-existing data, approval must cover any period during which the researcher will be accessing or evaluating individual sensitive and/or un-anonymised records. Note that after the point at which ethical approval for your study is no longer required due to the study being complete (as per the above definitions), you will still need to ensure all research data/records management and storage procedures agreed to as part of your application are adhered to and carried out accordingly.

If you do not start the project within three months of this letter please contact the Research Ethics Office.

Should you wish to make a modification to the project or request an extension to approval you will need approval for this and should follow the guidance relating to modifying approved applications: http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx
The circumstances where modification requests are required include the addition/removal of participant groups, additions/removal/changes to research methods, asking for additional data from participants, extensions to the ethical approval period. Any proposed modifications should only be carried out once full approval for the modification request has been granted.

Any unforeseen ethical problems arising during the course of the project should be reported to the approving committee/panel. In the event of an untoward event or an adverse reaction a full report must be made to the Chair of the approving committee/review panel within one week of the incident.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

If you have any query about any aspect of this ethical approval, please contact your panel/committee administrator in the first instance (http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/contact.aspx). We wish you every success with this work.

Yours sincerely

_____

Daniel Butcher
Research Ethics Officer

Luke.Bretherton@kcl.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

KING'S College LONDON

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

	Please tick or initial
• I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to November 31, 2013.	AC
• I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.	AC
• I consent to my interview and participant observation sessions in which I take part being recorded.	AC
• I consent to the data gathered during my interview and participant observation sessions being stored in anonymised form until the end of the project, in July/August 2013.	AC
• I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).	AC
• The information you have submitted will be published as a report and you will be sent a copy. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.	

Participant's Statement:

I ANDY CLASPER

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 21/08/2012

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Joy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed [signature] Date 21.08.2012

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: RFP(EM)/11/12-51

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

	Please tick or initial
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• I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.	✓
• I consent to my interview and participant observation sessions in which I take part being recorded.	✓
• I consent to the data gathered during my interview and participant observation sessions being stored in anonymised form until the end of the project, in July/August 2013.	✓
• I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).	✓
• The information you have submitted will be published as a report and you will be sent a copy. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.	

Participant's Statement:

I DAVID MUIR

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 7.9.2012

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Lay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed [signature] Date 07.09.2012

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: RETCEM/11/12-51

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to November 31, 2013. ✓
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998. ✓
- I consent to my interview and participant observation sessions in which I take part being recorded. ✓
- I consent to the data gathered during my interview and participant observation sessions being stored in anonymised form until the end of the project, in July/August 2013. ✓
- I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report). ✓
- The information you have submitted will be published as a report and you will be sent a copy. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.

Participant's Statement:

I JEFF WILLIAMS.

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 12/09/12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine L. Joy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Date 12/09/12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

KING'S College LONDON

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

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Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to November 31, 2013. SJR
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998. SJR
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- I consent to the data gathered during my interview and participant observation sessions being stored in anonymised form until the end of the project, in July/August 2013. SJR
- I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report). SJR
- The information you have submitted will be published as a report and you will be sent a copy. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.

Participant's Statement:

I Steven Bochy

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed _____ Date 28/9/12.

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Hay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine Hay Date 28.09.12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to November 31, 2013. ✓
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998. ✓
- I consent to my interview and participant observation sessions in which I take part being recorded. ✓
- I consent to the data gathered during my interview and participant observation sessions being stored in anonymised form until the end of the project, in July/August 2013. ✓
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Participant's Statement:

I DANIEL SINCLAIR

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 17/9/12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Lay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed [signature] Date 17.09.12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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Participant's Statement:

I RJ Stevens

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed RJ Stevens Date 4/10/12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Joy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine Joy Date 4.10.12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

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Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed _____ Date 8.10.12.

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine M. Kay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine M. Kay Date 08.10.12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

KING'S College LONDON

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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Participant's Statement:

I MARIA LUCIA MANZONI luz

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Date 24 October 2012.

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Loy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine M. Loy Date 24.10.2012

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

KING'S College LONDON

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Please tick or initial

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Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed _____ Date 29/10/12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Loy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed _____ Date 29

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

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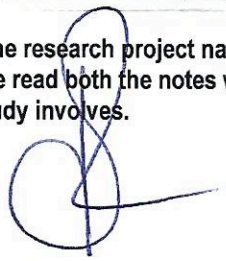
Participant's Statement:

I Paul Valentin

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed  Date 7/11/12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Hoy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine M. Hoy Date 7.11.2012

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

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• I consent to the data gathered during my interview and participant observation sessions being stored in anonymised form until the end of the project, in July/August 2013.	✓
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Participant's Statement:

I L M^c Clintock

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Linda M°Clintock Date 8.11.12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine L Hoey

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine Hoey Date 08.11.2012

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

KING'S College LONDON

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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Participant's Statement:

I Helen Stawski

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Helen Stawski Date 28.11.12

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Lay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine Le-Lay Date 28.11.12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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- **I consent to my interview being recorded.**
- **I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).**
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Participant's Statement:

I ESTHER STEVENSON

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed E Stev **Date** 05/12/12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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• I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.	CA
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Participant's Statement:

I CHRISTINE ALLEN

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 5th December

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Lay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed [signature] Date 05.12.12

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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KING'S College LONDON

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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Participant's Statement:

I DAVID PAIN

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Signed [signature] Date 15-1-13

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine M-Lacy

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine M-Lacy Date 15-01-13

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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Participant's Statement:

I Clela Lord.

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Signed Date 15-01-13

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Fay

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Catherine Fay Date 15-01-13

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

KING'S College LONDON

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King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref:_____

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Participant's Statement:

I SUSAN L RICHARDSON

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Susan L Richardson Date 27/2/13

Investigator's Statement:

I Catherine Lo

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Date 27.2.13

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KING'S College LONDON

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- I consent to my interview being recorded. ☑
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Participant's Statement:

I Loretta Mingdella

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 8/5/13

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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KING'S College LONDON

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/11/12-51

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Please tick or initial

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Participant's Statement:

I Pam Lankamp

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 9/5/13

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KING'S College LONDON

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Participant's Statement:

I Wendy Young

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Wendy Young

Date 21st May 2013

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

KING'S College LONDON

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

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Participant's Statement:

I JOHN PLANT.

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed J Plant. Date 25/6/2013.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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KING'S College LONDON

Title of Study: Where Faith and Development Meet: A critical moment in the life of one international faith-based development organization.

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Participant's Statement:

I Kathy Galloway

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Kathy Galloway Date 25/6/2013.

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KING'S College LONDON

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Participant's Statement:

I ALAN D McDONALD

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Alan DMcDonald Date 10/7/13

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KING'S College LONDON

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Participant's Statement:

I Michael Heaney

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed [signature] Date 27 August 2013

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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KING'S College LONDON

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• I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.	✓
• I consent to my interview being recorded.	✓
• I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).	✓
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Participant's Statement:

I MARTIN CHARLES GAGE

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed  Date 28/08/2013

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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Participant's Statement:

I JO CHAMBERLAIN

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed J Chamberlain Date 28/8/2013

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KING'S College LONDON

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Participant's Statement:

I DEBORAH DARNES

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Deborah L Darnes Date 30/8/13

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KING'S College LONDON

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Participant's Statement:

I Sylvia Salmon

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed S Salmon Date 31-8-13

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Participant's Statement:

I Helen Dunham Playdon

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed H D Playdon. Date 2 October 2013

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

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Participant's Statement:

I Belinda Arnold

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Belinda Arnold Date 7/6/13

Interview Topic Guide

Questions for Staff

- How long have you worked at Christian Aid?
- Why did you join the organization?
- Would you have joined the organization if you had been asked to sign a statement of faith? Why/why not?
- Have your expectations of the organization been met/fulfilled? Why/why not?
- How did you feel about Christian Aid's 'return to its faith roots' in 2011? (Copy of paper to be provided if necessary.)
- Do you feel that this 'return to faith roots' is steering the organization more closely towards the kind of organization you do or do not want to see it become?
- What are some of the features of the organization as you would like it to be shaped in five years' time?

Questions for Supporters

- What has been your involvement with Christian Aid? For how long?
- Why are you involved with Christian Aid?
- Has Christian Aid formed part of your own faith journey?
- Is your church/minister/vicar supportive?
- Do you find it easy to talk to others about volunteering for Christian Aid?
- Do you think Christian Aid is good at talking about its faith basis?
- Do you agree with everything Christian Aid does? Why/why not?

Questions for Staff of Sponsoring Churches

- What has been your involvement with Christian Aid in a professional capacity? A personal capacity?
- What do you feel is the relationship of the [insert denomination name] to Christian Aid? Do you feel that it's mutually beneficial? Are there tensions/frictions?
- What do you think the [insert denomination name] has to gain from relationship with Christian Aid? To lose?

- Do you feel that Christian Aid is a significant way in which the [insert denomination name] can live out God's mission on earth? Why/why not?
- What do you think faith can bring to development practice? Is development better off because of the involvement of faith actors?
- Do you agree with everything Christian Aid does? Why/why not?